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The Questionable Efficacy of Acculturation: The Case of the Canadian North

by

© Michele J. Ivanitz

A THESIS

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to provide evidence disconfirming the hypothesis of acculturation through the use of testimony given by expert witnesses and community residents at the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Both the Inquiry process and outcome were crucial in affecting perceptions held by officials of government and industry regarding the existence and viability of the contemporary Dene and Inuvialuit ways of life.

Prior to the Inquiry, government and industry operated within an acculturation framework when dealing with issues pertaining to northern development. The conclusion reached in this thesis is that the framework of acculturation is invalid, and a practical solution to the problems of northern resource development lies in the accommodation of existing Dene and Inuvialuit ways of life alongside the industrial development of the Canadian north.

The disconfirmation of the acculturation model has also occurred in anthropological literature and theory. This has resulted in a paradigm shift and the construction of more flexible hypotheses, such as the mode of production framework, when dealing with contemporary development issues that are cross-cultural in nature.

Preface

In the early 1970's, a "development rush" of northern Canada occurred on the part of industry in response to controversy regarding the extent of oil and gas reserves in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea and the perceived need for this oil and gas by both Canadian and American consumers. Industry was operating under the assumption that these reserves were large enough to justify the expenditure of millions of development dollars (Bregha 1979): two proposals for corridor development were submitted by Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited and Foothills Pipe Lines Limited.[1]

Arctic Gas proposed to build a pipeline from Alaska that would use a corridor across the Northern Yukon as well as the corridor along the Mackenzie Valley. Foothills proposed to build a pipeline that would use only the corridor along the Mackenzie Valley: a smaller pipeline that would transport only Canadian gas from the Mackenzie Delta to Canadian consumers, with a small portion for export to the United States (Berger 1977(a);Gray 1979). The Yukon corridor was designated as an "exclusive American" corridor, whereas the corridor down the Mackenzie Valley (Arctic Gas) would be as much American as Canadian. The proposed pipelines were expected to be looped, with the additional assumption that if a gas pipeline was built, an oil pipeline would follow. The problem with these proposals lay in the fact that the land north of the sixtieth parallel was, and remains, a homeland to a complex of Dene and Inuvialuit cultures - cultures that would not willingly give up their land in the interests of non-renewable resource development.

The Indians of the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic are Athabaskan speakers, and are separated into Kutchin, Slavey, Dogrib, Hare, and Chipewyan. Whatever the dialectical variation in their language, they still regard themselves collectively as "the People" - "Dene". The native people of the Western Arctic are known as "Inuvialuit" and occupy part of the Mackenzie Delta and the shores of the Beaufort Sea. The Dene and Inuvialuit perceive many differences between each other, since they are distinct peoples. They did have common interests, however, in relation to the proposed Mackenzie Valley

---

[1]The Arctic Gas group was a consortium of Canadian and American producers and gas transmission and distribution companies. Gulf, Shell and Imperial, the three principle gas producers in the Mackenzie Delta, were members of the consortium as well as TransCanada Pipelines - Canada's largest gas transmission company. Foothills Pipelines group was comprised of Alberta Gas Trunk Line and West Coast Transmission, the largest gas transmission companies in Alberta and British Columbia.

Pipeline, and shared many concerns.

The construction of the proposed pipeline seemed assured in the early 1970's (Bregha 1979). A reassessment of a number of factors on the part of the federal government, however, led to the Liberal issuance of an Order-in-Council establishing the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.[2] To be directed by Mr. Thomas Berger, the Inquiry was to examine: a) the social, environmental, and economic impact regionally of the construction and operation of the proposed pipeline; and b) any proposals to meet the specific environmental and social concerns set out in the "Expanded Guidelines for Northern Pipelines", the Inquiry also would recommend the terms and conditions that should be imposed if the pipeline were to be built (Berger 1977(b);Gray 1979). The original terms of the Order-in-Council were made deliberately restrictive by the Liberal drafters. Judge Berger, however, felt that the pipeline had to be considered in conjunction with the other developments that could be expected to follow it along the energy route. An assault upon the environment was considered by Berger to be an assault on native ways of life. As a result of this perception, Berger viewed pipeline development in terms of a "corridor", where the overall effect of the proposed pipeline and corridor would involve virtually all components of the environment, bringing about fundamental changes in the ecosystem. These changes would be disastrous to existing ways of life, since native land use in the area in question focused on its renewable resources such as caribou, fish, fur-bearers, and birds. In addition, the principle beneficiaries, both socially and economically, of the proposed development would be southerners - not the people of the north (Berger 1977(a)).

The Inquiry process was to be viewed as an opportunity to make a new departure and "open a new chapter in the history of the indigenous peoples of the Americas" (Berger 1977(a):200):

> There above the Arctic Circle, just half a mile from each other, were the two Norths side by side, the North of Shell Canada, with its links to the South and

---

[2]According to Bregha (1979), the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry was established because there appeared, in the Liberal view, to be several political advantages in such a procedure. An Inquiry would, for example, allow public input in the refinement of northern pipeline guidelines, and would depoliticize the volatile environmental and social issues by offering a public forum in which concerns could be aired. Most importantly, however, the hearings would "assuage the New Democratic Party which was critical of the government's northern development policy and at that time held the balance of power in Parliament" (45).

> markets of the world, and the North of Archie Headpoint, with its links to the land and to a past shared by the people who have always lived there.
>
> Can these two Norths coexist in the Mackenzie Delta and the Beaufort Sea? Or must one recede into the past, while the other commands the future?(1977(a): 11).

The Berger Commission was unique in Canadian history because it was designed to determine the impact of a large-scale frontier development project before, and not after, the fact and was to "protect the North, its people and its environment, if the pipeline project were to go ahead" (Berger 1977(b):224). Berger felt this issue was not a simple debate regarding the future of the North and its peoples, but a chance to reexamine the view of expansion into our "last frontier".

> We look upon the North as our last frontier...Our whole inclination is to think of expanding our industrial machine to the limit of our country's frontiers (Berger 1977(a): 1).

From an inquiry into a gas pipeline, it became an inquiry into the:

> ...future of the North, and finally, an inquiry into the future itself. This made the inquiry's existence itself and its hearing process as important as its eventual outcome (Bregha 1979: 115-116).

Both the inquiry process and outcome were crucial in affecting perceptions held by industry and government officials regarding the existence and viability of the contemporary Dene way of life. Major shifts have occurred in these perceptions, and one of the major factors responsible was the testimony given during the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Prior to the Inquiry, government and industry were operating within an acculturation framework when dealing with northern development issues. Within this framework, the native way of life was dying, if not already dead. This was evidenced by high unemployment, poverty, social problems, and the non-existence of an economy. The solution to the problems lay in pipeline development and employment since, through an influx of money through wage employment, native people would be able to purchase needed goods, alleviate social problems, and reduce the unemployment rate. Through willing participation in wage employment, northern natives could become part of Canadian society. The only hope for the north, in the view of industry and government, was the acculturation of northern natives into the mainstream of Canadian society.

At the conclusion of the Inquiry, this hypothesis was disconfirmed through the community and expert witness testimonies given at the hearings. The community testimonies showed that the native people did not want or need massive wage

employment and pipeline development because their way of life was not dead. Their communities were not "poor" in the native sense of the word, nor were they operating in an economic vacuum. Hunting and gathering activities still played a major role in their lifestyles, and continued to provide a viable economic structure. Testimonies from expert witnesses, examining the concepts of the value of country food, unemployment, and the actual model of acculturation itself exemplified the fact that contemporary northern native society was not dead. The analyses provided by these witnesses further disconfirmed the hypothesis put forward by industry and government.

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the major effect the Inquiry had on the perceptions of government and industry, and will also provide evidence to show that parallel shifts were occuring in anthropological research and literature. These shifts would affect anthropology as a science, and would have implications for the effect anthropology itself would have on science. The following chapters will show that the Dene way of life is not dead, the acculturation framework is no longer applicable in contemporary Canadian society and has, in turn, been replaced by a new framework - one in which northern native ways of life may exist alongside the mainstream of Canadian society.

The first chapter will deal with the question: what is acculturation? It will be shown that it was commonplace to feel that the only solution for most hunting and gathering societies was acculturation into the mainstream of the "dominant" nation, and how the model was applied in the analyses of these societies.

The second chapter will provide a general overview of the attitudes of government regarding native way of life, using materials such as the 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, the 1973 Native Claims Statement, federal and territorial hansard and annual reports, and reasons for judgement of selected court cases. It will be seen through the analysis of these materials that in the 1969-1975 period industry and government were operating within the acculturation framework, based on the hypotheses that native way of life was dying or dead, and the only possibility for the Dene was acculturation.

Chapter three will provide an extensive examination of the use of the acculturation model by industry, and how these opinions were manifested at the Berger Inquiry. Materials used include Gemini North's impact assessment for Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited.

employment strategies outlined by Arctic Gas, and the testimony given by Dr. Charles Hobart. This chapter will portray the view of industry regarding the Dene way of life at the time industry went into the Berger Commission hearings. At the close of the chapter it will be evident that industry was relying on the acculturation model to justify northern pipeline development.

Chapter four outlines confrontation on the parts of the Dene and Inuvialuit of Northern Canada. The hypotheses held by industry and government are challenged by the fact that the assumptions regarding poverty, unemployment, and decreases in hunting and gathering activities held by Hobart and Gemini North did not coincide with the actual lifestyle of the natives. Action did not match perception. In this chapter, the native viewpoint of the viability of their way of life and the rejection of acculturation are presented.

The fifth chapter is a continuation of chapter four and presents the disconfirmation of Gemini North's evidence, through the testimony of expert witnesses Rushforth (country food), Usher, and Asch (critique of acculturation). The chapter will close with a discussion pertaining to the fact that the Dene would no longer accept analyses which were based on an acculturation model, and lead into the results of the confrontation.

Chapter six, the "Aftermath", attempts to answer the question: How did government and industry incorporate this "new" perspective? It will be shown that the shift was toward the recognition that the native way of life is not dead, leaning toward an accommodation of this way of life alongside northern development.

The seventh and final chapter will be an attempt to apply the preceeding processes to science-building. This chapter will include a criticism of traditional anthropology and the acculturation model, based on materials presented in the preceeding chapters. A discussion of theory and paradigm change processes outlined by Kuhn will be followed by the relevance of the Inquiry process to science-building. It will also be outlined how the perspective held in the "Man the Hunter" conference was reflected in the hypotheses of industry and government, how these hypotheses were disconfirmed by testimony given during the Berger Commission, and the resulting paradigm shift and construction of new hypotheses.

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I. Anthropology and Acculturation

A. Acculturation Theory

In the 1950's there was occurring a solidification of a body of theory known as "acculturation", designed to explain change and transformations occurring in hunting and gathering societies throughout the world. Both general and specific analyses of a theoretical nature were being carried out by anthropologists such as Steward, Murphy, Sahlins and Service. The process of acculturation, as a model, was described as a state of equilibrium that is disturbed by outside contact (Murphy 1971), and represented a departure from cultural-historical diffusionist activities (such as those carried out by Boas) which had consisted, according to Murphy (1971) of the production of laundry lists of cultural traits:

> ...based on the view that all that was left of most native political and social systems were the "cultural residues of the mind". It was viewed as imperative, therefore, to "wring out" information from the memories of the oldest Indians available (28).

Acculturation studies arose from studies of reservation Indians and expanded into an inquiry on the impact of Western civilization on native peoples. The aim was to determine the:

> ...mechanisms or processes by which interchange of culture took place between some societies in contact and to ascertain whether the order to change followed certain regularities (Murphy 1971:28).

Studies relied heavily on documentation and oral records of the recent past and present, and took place in an interaction setting. In addition, it was felt by early theorists that it was only a matter of time before all of the cultural systems of the world would be different variations, depending upon divergent historical experiences, of a single culture type. The world-wide acculturation process had been set in motion by the use and spread of a dominant cultural type possessing a range of dominance so great that it would spread to "just about every nook and cranny of the planet" (Sahlins and Service 1961:83). The result of the acculturation process - actually the basis of the process itself - was the commonplace assumption that the only possibility for hunting and gathering societies was integration and assimilation into the mainstream of the dominant nation.

The following studies are to be viewed as the applications of the acculturation model or framework to various hunting and gathering societies: a) Julian Steward and his

theory of culture change, based on the acculturation of the Western Shoshoni; b) Robert Murphy and Julian Steward's application of the acculturation model to ethnographic work conducted by Eleanor Leacock and Robert Murphy in Northern Canada and Brazil; c) the work of Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service regarding the "evolution of culture", and their application and explanation of acculturation based on the biological nature of cultures; and d) the 1969 "Man the Hunter Conference", whereby anthropologists provided a eulogy to the hunter-gatherers, albeit premature, based on the application of the acculturation framework.

An important factor to be considered when dealing with material of this time period pertaining to hunter-gatherers is the apparent commonplace acceptance of the existence and unquestioned application of the theory of acculturation. Designed as a model to explain the nature and existence of societal change, it became a model that was to relegate the way of life of the hunter-gatherer to history - considered as an interesting, if complex, phenomenon which had "lived-out" its day and was now a component of the ethnographic past. The exemplification of this notion begins, for purposes of this analysis, in 1955 with the work of Julian Steward.

Julian Steward and Culture Change

Using the "acculturation" of the Western Shoshoni as an example, Steward outlined his view of the influence of a modern nation, and hence acculturation, upon a family level of sociocultural integration.[3] His premise was that native cultural patterns did not necessarily remain intact because individual Indians did not actively participate in the larger white society. The reason for this assumption lies in the fact, according to Steward, that all Indians had been brought into relationships of dependency upon mainstream American culture through governmental, economic and religious institutions. In most cases:

> ...the influence of the institutions of the larger sociocultural system has been sufficient to destroy the native pattern, often with traumatic effects (1972:57).

In the particular case of the Western Shoshoni, Steward felt they had been spared the

---

[3]In 1955, Steward published **Theory of Culture Change** postulating that cultural and societal integration occurred on different levels (i.e. national, community, and family). The significance of acculturation was, therefore, lost if societal changes were viewed only in terms of a "monolithic concept of total cultural pattern or configuration" (Steward 1972:61). These different levels dictated the behaviour of individuals within the group, and their responses to societal change.

more "crucial difficulties" faced by Indians who "had a fairly tightly-woven fabric of community culture". The underlying assumption by Steward[4] was that most Western Shoshoni were only loosely tied to any definable locality or cohesive social group, for there existed no community bonds beyond kinship and friendship. In addition, the nomadic lifestyle of this group of people contributed to their loose social structure.

Steward felt that the acculturation of the Western Shoshoni had resulted from direct association, albeit sporadic, with whites through governmental services such as health services, schools, and work benefits. They had been forced into non-traditional activities such as mining and ranching, and had assumed the role of nomadic wage labourers. The resulting acculturation consisted primarily of:

> ...modification of those patterns necessary to adjust to the rural white culture. It has brought wage labour, white styles of dress, housing, transportation, food and other material items, use of English and some literacy, and considerable adaptability in dealing with whites...(1972:58).

Steward based his theoretical structures on the premise that because the Western Shoshoni did possess "suprafamily level institutions" they did not experience the shock of the disintegration of these institutions. Individual families were, therefore, "quite free" to adjust the changed circumstances in the most efficient manner - without facing conflict (59). Thus, the Western Shoshoni, within this framework, had been acculturated - peoples assimilated into mainstream American society.

Murphy, Steward, Tappers and Trappers

In explaining change occurring in hunter-gatherer societies, Robert Murphy and Julian Steward (1956) also relied upon an acculturation framework, consistent with most other anthropologists of this time. The areas under examination were Brazil and Canada, and dealt with work of Murphy and Leacock regarding the Mundurucu and Northern Algonkians, respectively. The purpose of Murphy and Steward's analysis was to:

> ...show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change... even though differences in outward norm and substantive contact are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development (151).

The result of this process was that the Indians would become totally dependent

---

[4] Current anthropological study has shown that kinship ties, whether affinal or consanguinial, are indeed very strong community bonds. In addition, kinship networks were extended through what could be termed "friendship ties" of group hunts, and other factors such as possible exogamous marriages.

economically on trade goods, which were exchanged for local produce. This would, in turn, affect the basic structure of the social organization since the family and other cultural features were directly related through the functional nature of local production (1956:156).

It was noted by these anthropologists that basic acculturation factors exerted parallel influences between the Mundurucu and Algonkians, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. The causal factors outlined in this acculturation process, pertinent to this argument, were: 1) both became involved in a mercantile barter economy, involving bonds of debt and credit; 2) the growing ties of dependency upon the traders were at the expense of collective bonds within the societies; and 3) the resources used (i.e. fur-bearing animals and rubber trees) both required that persons exploiting them lived or worked at some distance from one another (1956:169). The initial effects on the two groups were somewhat dissimilar, according to Murphy and Steward, due to the aboriginal differences between them. They further emphasized that the specific geographical differences between the Mundurucu and Algonkians were not the crucial factors in their analysis. The primary feature was that each afforded a resource for trade purposes best exploited by individual families within delimited territories. These resources became important when the native populations became parts of "larger sociocultural systems and began to produce for outside markets in a mercantilist pattern" (1956:153). The culmination of this process was reached when the amount of activity devoted to production for trade interfered with the aboriginal subsistence cycle and social organization, making their continued existence impossible (153).

An example of this process involved the use of country food among the Mundurucu and specifically pertained to the white and mixed-blood rubber tappers. Those who were completely acculturated and emeshed in the mercantile economy, according to Murphy and Steward, usually bought all food from the trader, devoting the season when it was possible to grow their own food to tapping rubber or working off the debt owed to the trader through the performance of personal services. Murphy and Steward continued their analysis with the statement:

> ...we can confidently predict that as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing

number will buy food (1956:172).

The result would be that when they were no longer able to subsist through their own efforts, they would effectively become "neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen". The nuclear family would become the stable socioeconomic unit but would be connected to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy, having delimited access to marketable resources (1956:173,178).

In their conclusion of this process, Murphy and Steward summarized that when the hunting and gathering societies of the Mundurucu and Algonkians came into contact with larger industrial systems, there occured a shift from the subsistence economy to a dependence upon trade. This resulted in the assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the larger socio-economic system, leading in all likelihood to a loss of "Indian identity". The world economy operating through the traders was, according to Murphy and Steward, the primary external factor determining the course of development within hunting and gathering societies:

> The process of gradual shift from a subsistence economy to dependence upon trade is evidently irreversible, provided access to trade goods is maintained...the aboriginal culture is destined to the replaced by a new type which reaches its culmination when the responsible processes have run their course (1956:153).

Occurring in conjuction with Steward's work was the development of an acculturation framework that relied on theories related to the conceiving of organisms in terms of their "energy-capturing potential" - cultural evolution.

The Evolution of Culture

This framework (known popularly as cultural evolution) was, in part, based on biological functionalism: each part had a function to perform, and the functioning whole determined the nature of one discrete organism. The perspective held and taxonomy used was phylogenetic. However, during this period it was felt the framework of general evolution was useful because it could "cross-cut" social structures such as lineages, thereby "grouping forms into stages of over-all development" (Sahlins and Service 1961:22-23). Although culture was unique and possessed distinctive characteristics, it still diversified by adaptive specialization and successively produced over-all "higher" forms. Through adaptive modification, it was claimed, culture had:

> ...diversified as it has filled in the variety of opportunities for human existence afforded by the earth. Such is the specific aspect of cultural evolution (1961:23).

As the problems of survival vary, cultures accordingly change and undergo phylogenetic adaptive development.

Within this body of theory - an acculturation framework - higher forms of organisms would harness more energy. The corollary of this was that the relation between more complex[5] societal structural organization and "energy-harnessing" was reciprocal: the more energy concentrated, the more complex the structure. In addition, it was also felt that the "higher organisms" were less likely to be affected by environmental stimuli. More developed structures were also claimed to be more intelligient.

Within this framework, the fundamental difference between cultural evolution and biological evolution stemmed from the idea that cultural variation could be transmitted by diffusion - unlike biological processes:

> Separate cultural traditions, unlike separate biological lineages, may converge by coalescence...By contrast, each new adaptive step is a point of no return for biological populations; they can only (at best) move forward to that full specialization which is ultimately the (dead) end of progress (1961:27).

Acculturation was viewed within a developmental context, utilizing the cultural aspect of an "ecological niche".[6] For example, when two cultures are in close proximity, the dominance achieved in the adjustment process is always bounded by the borders of the environment to which the species is adjusting. The environment, in this case, does not become wider but becomes an ever-narrowing "niche". Consequently, the dominance over competing species in that environment becomes more and more complete. The result is that:

> ...upon ultimate success the victorious species is finally the sole exploiter of the contested resources of its niche (1961:70).

Moreover, a culture is an integrated organization of social structure, philosophy and technology. This organization is adjusted to problems of existence which are posed by its

---

[5]Within this framework, quantitative terms referred to "levels of integration". For example (in biological terms) when an organism had reached a higher level of integration than another, the organism would have more sub-components, or parts, which were effectively integrated. This theory related strongly to that of structural-functionalism.

[6]This concept, as used within this theoretical framework, refers to the place of each group in the total environment, its relation to resources, and competitors (Moran 1982:51).

natural habitat, and by nearby and competing cultures.

Maintaining that line of thought, Sahlins and Service continued to state that the replacement of a less highly developed form by a more progressive cultural form could be accomplished through processes of diffusion of acculturation. This would be an advantage for human populations in that a higher culture could dominate without total destruction of the population, or even loss of ethnic or social integrity, of the "lower" culture (27-28). Higher cultural forms, such as that of the nation-state tended to dominate and replace lower cultural forms, such as those at the band, clan and lineage levels. Modern national culture had, according to this framework, spread around the world

> ...replacing, transforming, and extinguishing representatives of millenia-old states of evolution, while archaic civilization, now also falling before this advance, even in its day was confined to certain sectors of certain areas of the continents. The dominance power of higher culture forms is a consequence of their ability to exploit greater ranges of energy resources more effectively than lower forms (1961:37).

Within this framework, it is possible that the alteration of some aspect of environment is so sudden and devastating that no new equilibrium state is possible. In a case such as this, cultural - though not necessarily human - extinction could be the result (1961:57,73). The dominant culture would reduce the variety of cultural systems and would transform them into copies, more or less, of itself:

> The great reduction through recent millenia of the hunting and gathering societies of the world is a good case (of general evolutionary advance of cultural domination) in point. Once the sole occupants of the cultural scene, they have tended to recede before later types that utilized new and more varied means of harnessing energy and putting it to work. The spread of these more advanced forms has pushed the hunting and gathering cultures deeper and deeper into marginal areas. Today, on the brink of virtual extinction, they are found only in the most harsh and agriculturally unsuitable regions of the world...(Sahlins and Service 1961:74-75).

This support in anthropological literature of the acculturation framework continued into the 1960's, as was evidenced by Fried's (1961) statement regarding band social organization and census data on aboriginal populations. Fried stated that in pre and post contact aboriginal demography, most of the significant statements were based on fairly crude estimates. Later, the data had become more reliable due to increased contact with these populations on the part of anthropologists. This contact, according to Fried, had become possible only because, through acculturation, the members of "simple societies" had come to value products and services that brought them to trading or administrative centres (1967:55).

Approximately seven years later came the conference which was designed to save the hunting and gathering societies in anthropological posterity since acculturation, according to those anthropologists publishing during this period, had assured the demise of the hunter-gatherer.

B. Man the Hunter

In 1968 a conference, dedicated to Claude Levi-Strauss, was held at the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Chicago. This gathering of approximately seventy-five scholars came together for a symposium of current research among the hunting-gathering peoples of the world. The primary purpose of the "Man the Hunter" conference, as it came to be known, was to capture the remnants of a dying way of life since hunting and gathering, as a way of life, was rapidly disappearing (Lee and DeVore 1968:vii). There was urgency in the atmosphere of this conference - an excitment based on the assertion that the time was rapidly approaching when there would be no hunters left to study due to interaction with modern and contemporary society (Damas 1968;Dunn 1968; Lee and DeVore 1968).

The process of hunting as a way of life was considered the most successful and persistent adaptation man had achieved. It was, however, difficult for conference participants to develop a definition of "hunter"upon which everyone could agree. It was determined eventually that the current (1968) anthropological view of hunting-gathering subsistence rested on the assumption that these people were primarily dependent on the hunting of game animals, lived in small groups, and moved frequently. A primary assumption made was that their way of life was generally a precarious and arduous struggle for existence (Lee 1968:30).

In Laughlin's view, however, the issue was far more complex than "they move around alot". He viewed hunting as an instrumental system in the real sense that something is accomplished, and several ordered behaviours are formed with a crucial result. Hunting is considered as a master behaviour of all species, including man, and is the organizing activity which integrated the morphological, genetic, intellectual and physical aspects of the individual. Hunting, therefore:

> ...is a way of life, not simply a "subsistence technique", which importantly involves commitments, correlates, and consequences of the individual and of

the entire species of which he is a member (Laughlin 1968:304).

In addition, hunters and gatherers were not able to exist in this environment without an extensive knowledge of animal behaviour and anatomy, as well as the ecology of food chains and trophic levels. Possessing this knowledge, however, was not going to save these cultures from acculturation and extinction, no matter how extensive their hunting and gathering way of life. According to Lee and DeVore (1968):

> We devote almost all of our professional attention to organizational forms that have emerged within the last 10,000 years and that are rapidly disappearing in the face of modernization (3).

For others attending the conference, it was regrettable that only recently had anthropologists demonstrated any great sophistication in demographic analyses and the effects of these analyses on the technological, economic and social practises of hunting-gathering societies. They had come too late to save these societies (Lee and DeVore 1968;Meggitt 1968). Another problem related to the observance of hunter-gatherer societies pertained to the lack of an extensive data base upon which to draw further conclusions. This perception led to the view that there was an urgent need for more ethnographic research to increase the sample - before these societies disappeared entirely. Damas, in his studies on the Eskimos, lamented the observance that there was no great uniformity in the quality of information about all Eskimo societies, nor on hunting peoples throughout the world. As a result, "the rapid disappearance of such groups places the problems of salvage foremost" (1968:117).

This transformation of hunting-gathering societies was usually attributed by conference participants to contact with modern society. Colin Turnbull provides a clear example of this issue which pertained to the Mbuti pygmies. Turnbull stated that what made their hunting life possible was the existence of the forest itself, which their neighbours (pastoral tribes) feared to penetrate and to which the pygmies became closely adapted. Their adaptation to the forest was conspicuously expressed in their technology and subsistence, but was also rooted deeply in their ideology (1968:132-133). Due to the encroachment of modern society however, the pygmy societies were being drastically encroached upon by administrative bodies and the neighbouring pastoral tribes, which had: "hemmed them in, confined them, and hammered their traditional economy in every possible way" (1968:134).

The explanation provided by Lee and DeVore to explain acculturation, in 1968, was as follows. In their view, when the mode of production came to depend upon the exclusive control of resources and facilities, the non-corporate nature of the small-scale society could not be maintained. If this view was correct, then a major trend had been the transformations of social relations as advanced technologies and formal institutions came to play a more and more dominant role in the human adaptation (1968:12), leading to acculturation.

Levi-Strauss closed the conference on a similar note as had been expressed throughout the entire process: the hunting and gathering way of life was dying rapidly and needed to be preserved, through data collection, before this way of life vanished entirely:

> The problems we have discussed are urgent ones, not only because of the pressing need to study vanishing cultures, but also because the problems occupy a special position in anthropological thinking...(Levi-Strauss 1968:349).

C. Acculturation, Government and Industry

Not only in the science of anthropology did the framework of acculturation take hold: in Canada, the Dene of the Northwest Territories were viewed as peoples who were to be assimilated into the mainstream of Canadian society at the earliest possible date. The facilitation of this process was one actively pursued by representatives of the southern Canadian oil and gas industry, the Government of Canada (henceforth referred to as the federal government), and the Government of the Northwest Territories.

The following chapter is designed to provide a general overview of the attitudes held by government and industry regarding the northern way of life. It will be seen that during the period 1969-1975 government and industry were operating within an acculturation framework, based on the hypothesis that Dene way of life was dying, if not already dead, and the only possibility remaining for the survival of the Dene was acculturation.

II. Government Realities

A. Introduction

During the period 1969-1975[1] the perception of government and industry regarding the Dene way of life was that of a people and culture which had been, for all intents and purposes, encapsulated within mainstream Canadian society. The underlying assumpton was that the Dene were on their way to becoming a completely acculturated people - the lack of information about their way of life notwithstanding.

As a result of this perception and lack of knowledge pertaining to the contemporary Dene way of life both government and industry were anxious to proceed with northern resource development. The only hope for the survival of the Dene would be a completion of the acculturation process through the mechanism of resource development.

The following materials are used in this analysis to provide a general portrayal of the mindset of government (both federal and territorial): a) the 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (White Paper); b) the 1973 Native Claims Statement; c) an analysis of the Morrow Caveat Case, as it applies to the acculturation framework; d) a review of the Malouf judgement regarding the James Bay hydro-electric project; e) an analysis of the Calder case, focusing on the existence of aboriginal rights in Canada; f) a review of federal and territorial Hansard (1970-1975); and g) a review of annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

This chapter will conclude with a brief introduction to the viewpoint held by industry during this same period and will, in effect, set the stage for the Berger Commission.

The 1969 White Paper

The principles of Canadian policy pertaining to Indians were established by the time of Confederation, with complete acculturation regarded as the only acceptable end. Consistent with this view, in 1969 the federal government announced its intention to

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[1] Dates given in this analysis are merely analytical boundaries. Concepts such as "attitude" and "perception" cannot be contained within a rigid time frame.

absolve itself from responsibility for Indian affairs and issued the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, known more informally as the "White Paper". This policy statement, in addition to the 1973 Native Claims Statement, is the best piece of available evidence supporting the premise of acculturation and federal support of this premise. Until this time, the government had never stated explicitly its support of the acculturation hypothesis.

The goal of the 1969 policy was "assimilation through termination" of all special Indian rights, thereby encouraging the "rapid integration of aboriginal populations into the dominant society" (Asch 1984:63). The rationale behind this process was justified, according to the federal government, because the special legal status and policies affecting Indians were keeping them apart from and behind other Canadians. Rejection of this proposed policy process was tantamount to supporting discrimination (Asch 1984). In addition, the government stated expressly that aboriginal rights, apart from treaty rights, would no longer be recognized (Weaver 1981), thereby denying the existence of aboriginal rights themselves. (Asch 1984).

The White Paper received a less than sympathetic response from the public and nearly unanimous rejection from the Canadian Indian population (Tobias 1976). It was argued by some Indian spokesmen that since Indians were the founding nation their special rights were at least as valid as those of the French.[1] According to Weaver, however, the political fact was that Quebec's separation would destroy Confederation, whereas the Indians comprised only one percent of the Canadian population and, therefore, did not pose any threat to the concept of federalism:

> ...the White Paper mirrored Trudeau's own ahistorical approach to policy-making, and his strong views on the danger and futility of special legislation for cultural groups such as the French Canadians (Weaver, 1981:168).

The 1969 White Paper was rejected primarily for two reasons: it had not been developed in good faith in terms of the participation that had been assured Indians, and it was a denial of their special rights. It was also discredited because it failed to offer reasonable methods for coping with problems Indians were experiencing:

> ...the policy was a response to values within the policy-making arena, not to

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[1]The political climate of the time was such that the search for national unity was of paramount importance, and focussed primarily on issues regarding Quebec's demands for greater autonomy.

the basic problems facing Indians (Weaver 1981:197).

1973 Native Claims Statement

The Native Claims Statement, on first glance, appeared to negate the 1969 White Paper. In this document, Chretien stated:

> Many Indian groups in Canada have a relationship with the Federal Government which is symbolized in Treaties entered into by those people with the Crown in historic times. As the government pledged some years ago, lawful obligations must be recognized. This remains the basis of Government policy...
>
> The Government sees its position in this regard as an historic evolution dating back to the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which, whatever differences there may be about its judicial interpretation, stands as a basic declaration of the Indian people's interests in land in this country (Chretien 1973:1-2).

This statement was to cover claims that came from Indian people who had not entered into Treaty relationships with the Crown, relating to the loss of traditional use and occupancy of lands in certain parts of Canada. This policy recognized that these claims covered not only land, but involved the loss of a way of life. It was stated, therefore, that any settlement had to "contribute positively to a lasting solution of cultural, social and economic problems that for too long have kept the Indian and Inuit people in a disadvantaged position within the larger Canadian society" (Chretien 1973:3). The view of the federal government was that the claims process was a means of providing compensation for the loss of the aboriginal way of life and "to help find a means to resolve the cultural, social and economic problems resulting from the loss" (Asch 1984:66). In short, according to Asch (1984), the 1973 Statement reaffirmed the acculturation orientation of the pre-1969 government philosophy.

This policy statement may have had implications for the James Bay situation, in that the government felt that negotiation was the best way to achieve the desired results by all parties concerned:

> In all these cases where the traditional interest in land has not been formally dealt with, the Government affirms its willingness to do so and accepts in principle that the loss and relinquishment of that interest ought to be compensated...by means of settlement freely negotiated by all the parties concerned (Chretien 1973:4).

Since the Quebec government did not want active federal involvement during negotiations with the Cree and Inuit, federal departments were instructed to adopt a position of "alert neutrality" to the project, particularly with respect to native issues. The federal government did not interfere on behalf of the Cree, apparently because action

against the Quebec government would work against federal strategy for dealing with separatist sentiments. The policy of alert neutrality guided federal policy throughout most of the successive events. This clarified for the native leadership, and later for the population as a whole, how federal authorities could be counted on to actively assist the natives in protecting their interests (Feit 1981). It was not until the spring of 1975 that the federal government stepped into the negotiations in a serious way, as the Agreement was moving toward completion. These parties were operating under the assumption that there would be no impediments to resource development from the Dene, since they would soon be part of mainstream Canadian society. Based upon this hypothesis, the conclusion drawn by those promoting northern resource development was that the Dene, similar to all other Canadian people, would support the expansion of resource exploitation in Canada's north, thereby tacitly acknowledging their agreement with becoming an integrated part of the Canadian whole.

The "actions" of the federal government regarding acculturation were not entirely inconsistent with the goals of the 1969 White Paper and the 1973 Native Claims Statement. A most appropriate method of conveying the implicit support of government for the acculturation framework is evidenced in the following court actions.

The Morrow Caveat Case

By 1971, aboriginal claims became the focus of the Indian movement, precipitated primarily by the threat of enormous resource development projects. Indians and white supporters organized in an unprecedented fashion, lobbying the federal government and applying pressure through judicial mechanisms. Public sentiment, at the time strongly supportive of aboriginal claims settlement, was exemplified in the House of Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs which endorsed the demands of the National Indian Brotherhood (created in 1971) for recognition of aboriginal claims (Weaver 1981). As part of this process, in 1971 the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, whose goal was to protect Dene land and way of life, claimed 450,000 square miles of land in the Mackenzie Valley which was covered by Treaties 8 and 11. The Dene had been told that their land had been surrendered, by virtue of these treaties, to the federal government. The Dene were made anxious by the use of the term "surrender" returned to the courts,

and requested Mr. Justice William Morrow to allow the Dene to put a caveat on the land in question, thereby preventing further development until land claims were settled.

The federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs was opposed to the caveat action and promptly argued the case in the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories. In reply to the federal government and in support of their request for a caveat, the Dene outlined six main points of argument: 1. the land in question had been occupied and used by Athabascan-speaking Indians from time immemorial; 2. the land had been occupied by distinct groups of Indians organized into societies; 3. aboriginal people have a legal title to the land if they were in occupation of that land prior to colonial entry; 4. Indian land rights in the Mackenzie Valley were recognized in the Royal Proclamation of 1763; 5. Treaties 8 and 11 did not surrender land to the Crown because the Indian people did not understand the terms of the written version; and 6. the 7,000 treaty Indians of the Northwest Territories, represented by the Indian Brotherhood, have a legal title and interest in the lands, and their interest could be protected by the filing of a caveat (Morrow 1973). Justice Morrow, after talking with the Dene elders, came to the conclusion that the Dene had a legal claim to the land they had traditionally used. He ruled on September 6, 1973 that Indians had a right to file claims to land, and that the aboriginal claim of the Dene could be protected by a caveat registered against unpatented Crown lands.

The federal government subsequently appealed the ruling of Justice Morrow in the Supreme Court of Canada. Although the judgement was overturned by the Supreme Court, their ruling was restricted to a statement that it was not possible to caveat unpatented Crown lands. It is ironic that during this process the federal government, although supposed advocate and protector of native rights in the north, announced the proposed construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline through the land in question. Trudeau's speech to the House of Commons justifying this action was a powerful appeal to the mythology of "nation-building" and the concept of Confederation:

> A transportation system is the key to rational development in the North. This Northern transportation system is mind-boggling in size. But then so was the very concept of a continent-wide fur trade 100 years ago. It's expensive too, but so was the Canadian Pacific Railway...Is it too big a project for Canada? Only in the view of those who have lost faith in what Canada is all about (Bregha 1979:33).

While the Morrow decision pertained to land in the Northwest Territories and the perception of northern society held by the federal government, the image held by the

provincial government of British Columbia regarding the Nishga way of life was about to be challenged in the courts. The case of Calder v. The Attorney-General of British Columbia was argued - first in 1969. This case raised questions of not only whether aboriginal title was recognized, but the exact nature of the content of aboriginal title and whether this title was in existence in all parts of Canada.

The Calder Case

Through this case, Canadian aboriginal peoples

> ...first came to know whether the Canadian court system accepted or rejected the idea that they possessed aboriginal rights at the time of first contact, and whether these rights had managed to survive the general legislation that the state had subsequently enacted (Asch 1984:47).

The plaintiffs (the Nishga Indians of British Columbia) sought a declaration that their aboriginal title, otherwise known as Indian title, to unsurrendered traditional lands had never been lawfully extinguished. They lost the case before Gould J. in October of 1969 when the British Columbia Supreme Court held against the Nishga claim, based upon the argument that whatever territorial rights the Nishga may have once possessed, these rights could not have survived the establishment of general land legislation in British Columbia. No comment was made, however, on whether Canadian law recognized the concept of aboriginal title (Lester 1981;Sanders 1978). The subsequent appeal of the Nishga was unanimously dismissed.

The Supreme Court of Canada heard the case in November of 1971. For Chief Justice Hall the problem of proof to be resolved by the Crown did not rest on the legal nature of the Crown's own proprietary title, but rather on whether the burden on that title had been lawfully extinguished. The legal nature of the Crown's title was primarily a question to be resolved in terms of the power of the Crown to extinguish aboriginal title (Lester 1981:1430). The outcome was a split decision: three justices ruled that title had been extinguished by virtue of federal land legislation passed in the colony prior to Confederation. Three others ruled that aboriginal title could only be extinguished by means of agreement or express legislation. The seventh and remaining justice confined his decision to a technical report, resulting in a majority ruling against the Nishga claim.[9] The

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[9] The dismissal turned on the procedural ground that the Nishga had not obtained a fiat from the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, which would have enebled them to bring suit against the Attorney-General as representing the

Court held that the Royal Proclamation did not extend to British Columbia. The six members who found it necessary to consider the substantive issues which dealt with territory outside the geographic limits of the Proclamation, held that aboriginal title recognized that common law had existed. The Calder case, furthermore, renders untenable the defendants claim that no aboriginal title exists in a settled, as distinguished from a conquered or ceded, colony and that there is no aboriginal title unless it has been recognized by statute or prerogative act of the Crown, or by Treaty having statutory effect.

In summary, the judgement held that the Nishga Indians possessed aboriginal title to their lands at the time of contact with Europeans but the vote split on whether that title was still in existence (Asch 1984). The implication for federal policy-making was:

> ...the case indicated that "perhaps" aboriginal peoples had more "legal rights" than (Trudeau's) government had considered when they formulated the federal paper on Indian policy in 1969 (Asch 1984:64).

As a result the government issued a policy directive consistent with the position that aboriginal interests did exist in Canada (Asch 1984).

The Calder case was considered a landmark victory in proving the existence of aboriginal rights in Canada. The impetus was continuing during this period in other areas of the country: the government of Quebec was also challenged in the courts during the early 1970's.

Malouf and the James Bay Project

On April 29, 1971, in the province of Quebec, the James Bay Hydro Electric Project was launched by then Premier Robert Bourassa. The Project called for the building of four major dams and four large power plants, which was to be accomplished through the diverting and draining of rivers, and flooding of lands encompassing one sixth of the area of the entire province.

This event is important in the understanding of the perspective held by governments regarding acculturation, since only passing acknowledgement was made of

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[9](cont'd) Crown as required by the governing Crown Procedures Act. The Crown, therefore, did not have jurisdiction to hear the suit. According to another interpretation, however, it was not necessary, for strictly non-substantive reasons, to obtain a fiat. There was, therefore, no impediment to the jurisdiction of the British Columba Supreme Court to grant a declaration, that the Nishga's aboriginal and Proclamation rights had never been extinguished and the appeal should have been allowed (Lester 1981).

the fact that all the land in question was already inhabited and used by Cree Indians and Inuit, whose livelihood from hunting, fishing and trapping would be adversely affected by the proposed development project (Bird 1971;Richardson 1972).[10]

The position of the Quebec government, however, was that the plans for the project were not negotiable, and that the indigenous peoples had no special rights, or at least none that warranted anything more than an expropriation of their interest in the land and monetary compensation for that interest (Feit 1981; Richardson 1972). As a result of the image of "non-existing" ways of life held by the Bourassa government, the Cree applied for an interlocutory injunction requesting an order restraining respondents from carrying out the development in the territory, on the grounds that the work would interfere with and cause harm to the personal and usufructuary rights which the Cree enjoyed in all of northern Quebec (Malouf 1973, Richardson 1972). The argument before Mr. Justice Albert Malouf before the Superior Court, aside from the legal and historical testimony on the concept of aboriginal title, tended to revolve around the issues of the extent of the involvement in, and the dependence of the native people on, a subsistence economy and the extent to which the environmental damages were temporary and reparable. Based upon the evidence given, Justice Malouf granted the interlocutory injunction in November of 1973. The province of Quebec moved to suspend the injunction, pending an appeal of the first judgement to higher court. A week later, the court of appeal ruled to suspend the injunction (Feit 1981).

The federal government had succeeded in having the Malouf ruling overturned; however, the granting of this injunction as well as the Morrow decision and Calder Case were important "psychological" victories for the James Bay Cree and Inuit, the Nishga of British Columbia, and the Dene of the Northwest Territories. In addition, these actions constituted warnings to the federal, territorial and provincial governments that the Dene and northern Cree and Inuit did not view themselves as acculturated, and had no intentions of doing so.

These pressures, according to Weaver (1981), resulted in a major policy reversal in August of 1973 when Chretien (then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs) announced a new policy on comprehensive claims settlement in non-treaty areas of Canada.

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[10]In addition, the natives were never conquered in that land, and they never sold the land or ceded it in treaty or any other way.

The Federal Government and Acculturation

In December of 1973, then Prime Minister Trudeau stated in the House of Commons that:

> A major development is the proposed gas pipeline up the Mackenzie Valley to move Alaska gas to the U.S. markets and at the same time make it possible to move Canadian northern gas to Canadian markets. While this project must, of course, be submitted to the usual regulatory proceedings and cannot go ahead until it has been approved by responsible Canadian authorities...the government believes that it would be in the public interest to facilitate early construction by any means which do not require the lowering of environmental standards or the neglect of Indian rights and interests (Hansard 1973:8482).

Considering the impact the proposed pipeline was to have on the people of Canada's north, there was very little debate on this subject in the pages of Hansard. It was assumed that the Indians of the north would go along with the rest of Canada on the pipeline development since, despite the rhetoric of the 1973 Native Claims Statement delivered by Chretien, the Dene of the Northwest Territories remained, in the federal view, an acculturated people. An example of this perception can be seen in the response of the Minister of Indian Affairs to charges of negligence put forward by the Opposition, on the issue of land rights:

> This question of Indian rights is very important, of course. There is alot of emotion surrounding it. I am glad everyone agrees that we should recognize Indian rights in this land. We have already done so. But there are some very far reaching implications which prevent our going too fast or in too many directions at the same time (Hansard 1973:3217).

The inference in this statement of "far-reaching implications" were those resulting from the proposed Mackenzie Valley development. Chretien was recalcitrant in the recognition of Indian land rights, particularly as they pertained to the Dene.

One year later the emphasis in the House of Commons regarding this issue was on employment opportunities for the Dene, which were to stem from the oil and gas developments. The view expounded by government on the employment issue was that past grievances would have to be buried in order to shape a "better future", which would best be accomplished through northern "opportunities". Development opportunities were stressed - apparently because it was felt that any other type of income-related activity, aside from arts and crafts production[11] was not feasible (DIAND 1973).

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[11]Indian art was promoted by the federal government. The perspective held regarding the ability of the Dene to manage Dene art was exhibited in the interdepartmental group formed to "consider legislation designed to protect Indian producers from non-authentic arts and crafts and the unauthorized reproduction of Indian work". The aim of the committee appeared reasonable; however,

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs noted in the Annual Report (1974) that there had occurred a conscious shift in the style of the departmental administration of Indian affairs. Rather than "ministering" to the native northerners, the Department was now "responding" to initiatives that originated with the native people themselves. The goal of the Department had become to assist and support Canada's native northerners in achieving their aspirations, in addition to advancing social, economic and political development of the North. This was to be accomplished through environmentally sound resource development which could, and should, take place in the north while land claims were being resolved (1975). It was, furthermore, apparently of no consequence if Dene land was developed around, and in spite of, the Dene people. Resource development was to be achieved through the making available to northern natives all of those things deemed important by the remainder of Canadian society, thereby ensuring the acculturation of the Dene:

> Concerns for their social, economic, and environmental well-being are the basis of all government efforts to maintain a balance between upgrading their quality of life, protecting the natural environment and promoting resource development. These three related goals represent the northern policy for the decade of the seventies, and while sometimes perceived as being in conflict, must be considered in the light that the needs of northerners have top priority.
>
> The striking of such a balance is not easy and many recent events have increased the difficulty...there has been a steady rise of expectations among Canadian native peoples (DIAND 1976:48).

The Liberals were "looking at this matter of possible pipeline construction in the north...with the greatest of seriousness..."(Hansard 1974:84). The Opposition, however, did not feel there was a need for massive development in the North - at least not for another ten years. The Progressive Conservatives and the New Democratic Party claimed loudly that the Minister's commitment to go ahead with the Mackenzie Pipeline was purely an attempt to conciliate the United States. It had become evident to the government opposition and the Dene that although the style of those connected with Indian administration in Canada had changed over the last 100 years, there was little to suggest that the new style had been matched with actions:

> Since 1968 the Liberal government has been long on rhetoric but short on measures that facilitate an ending to the historic pattern of colonial domination of the Canadian native peoples by the Indian Affairs branch. The native people

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[11](cont'd) membership consisted of representatives of the federal government only. There was no Dene representation to deal with what was an essential aspect of Dene culture. Also noteworthy is the contradictory view held by DIAND that what was important was the Department's effort to support the integrity and development of native cultures in the North, in full consultation with native people (DIAND 1973).

> know intimately that the new style adopted by the Trudeau government has not led to any transformation in their way of life in the last seven years (Hansard 1974: 6715).

In 1975, as a consequence of this perceived political inaction on the part of the federal government (necessary in their support of acculturation) the political climate was becoming more active among Indian groups in the North. The major thrust of this activity lay with the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Association of the Northwest Territories and their representation to the federal government regarding the establishment of the Dene Nation. The attitude taken by the government was evident in the response to a question in the House directed to then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Judd Buchanan, on this issue:

> ...my initial reaction is that two nations in the Northwest Territories is no more acceptable than two nations in any other part of Canada (Hansard 1975:7860).

It is possible that the federal goverment was reacting, in part, to the concept of a "separate nation" within the Canadian state. It is also evident, however, that the government was in opposition to the possibility of the disconfirmation of the acculturation model under which they were operating. The motion of a group of people, in this case the Dene, for self-determining status was not consistent with the hypothesis that they had become, in large measure, part of mainstream Canadian society. The federal government dogmatically held to the view, however, that the northern natives had to make way for the rest of Canada:

> In view of pressuring world requirements for new sources of energy and the thrust toward energy self-reliance in Canada, continued exploration in the North seems inevitable (DIAND 1976:60).

Territorial Acculturation

In the view of the territorial government in 1973, northern development was a process that involved people, environment and resources. It was felt that since Chretien's presentation of the 1973 policy statement, the Northwest Territories would be able to provide an effective means of encouraging the orderly development of resources (GNWT 1973). The Territorial Government was giving attention to mineral and oil and gas exploration and the possibilities of a Mackenzie Valley pipeline, which was to "be moulded to the use of northern people in unique and ingenious ways" (1973:11), through making viable alternatives available to the people through economic development, education and

social development programmes. Full support for the establishment of the Mackenzie Valley corridor was expressed by the Government of the Northwest Territories, provided territorial residents and government were able to participate fully in all planning phases.

At this time, there was mention of the government's supposed belief in the existence of a northern "dual economy":

> Both modern and traditional sectors exist side by side, not competing but rather complementing each other and adding to the exciting variegated social pattern of life in the Territories (1973:75).

In addition, the government felt free to propose monetary compensation to northern natives in exchange for any and all damages. The following quote, however, suggests an insight into the actual view of a "variegated social pattern", as viewed by the territorial government:

> The big game outfitting camps continued to provide significant employment and revenue to the economy as well as recreational opportunity to non-residents... Guiding and outfitting offers an excellent opportunity for those native people who chose to participate and enjoy an interesting and challenging form of employment not completely different from the traditional way of life (1973:83-84).

It is evident that the image of the Dene way of life, as viewed by the Territorial government, was one which was adapting very well to southern ideals.

In the Hansard of the Northwest Territories government, there is extreme evidence of the acculturation framework and its direct application to the Dene people. The view held in 1973 was that the Dene were moving from a hunting and fishing economy to a wage-earning economy, based on the perception that the number of trappers was declining every year due to a lack of incentives. Most trappers, however, were not classified by the government as active or professional, and trapping and hunting were considered as income supplements or as "an additional pasttime, and not a primary source of livelihood" (Trimble 1973:203-204). The view was expressed that the integrity, honesty, willingness and ability of the people to look after themselves and their families had declined to the point where damage was being done. In addition, it was expressed in the legislative assembly that the inevitable transition from a hunting to wage subsistence would be a difficult adjustment for the Dene. Patience on the part of government and industry would, therefore, be of major importance if the Dene were to achieve "success":

> They do learn. They do appreciate the fact that the time-clock world, the white man's world, but the trouble is that we are just sometimes a little too hasty to think that we can change them overnight. It takes time and patience

(Pugh, 1973:368).

Moreover:

> ...the whole question (of employment)...comes down to a question of education on the part of federal agencies...and the territorial government, too. With the standard of education to be improved and developed along the lines that when people do come out of school they do want to work and do want to hold down a job and do feel that it is an important thing to do. This is the only way that the native people of this country will ever even have a chance of obtaining success (Pearson 1973:372).

It was very clear that the image of the Dene way of life maintained by the Territorial government was one in which the Dene were rapidly shifting to a lifestyle more aligned with southern perceptions of reality:

> This situation of the indigenous people is not of their choosing, it is not of their making; they are undergoing a cultural change... And the whole way of life a few decades ago was entirely different from what we see today...
>
> That situation has changed. In those days everybody in the country was equal. Everybody was happy as long as they had enough food and could keep themselves warm. I think it is well accepted that the indigenous people of the territories traditionally have been among the most happy people and pleasant people there has ever been in the world. That situation no longer exists (Trimble 1973:742).

Immediate relocation to settlements where natives could obtain wage employment was advocated as a solution to problems natives were encountering. This suggestion met with the approval of the government since the general view held was that trapping was a subsistence mode of the past. People would rather "work" than go out and set traps (1973:134).

Regarding the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline development, Mr. Butters expressed the view of the territorial government that the pipeline was the only hope the Northwest Territories had for meaningful economic development (1973:559). Delaying construction until native claims had been settled would result, it was feared, in the Americans finding other sources of gas, such as the North Sea or the "Russians", and:

> We in the North will be left behind the eight ball with tremendous quantities (of oil and gas) but of no actual value whatsoever (Pearson 1973:634).

Another fear for delay was expressed by Mr. Phipps:

> ...I agree that we should have a settlement with the native people, but I do not agree that we should have to settle that prior to any pipeline development. Such a thing would put the native people... in a pretty strong bargaining position... (1973:634).

One year later, the Territorial government was preparing for the Inquiry, under the direction of Mr. Justice Thomas Berger, to investigate aspects of the application to

construct a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The government reported the Commission hearings as focussing attention on the social and environmental aspects of pipeline development, in addition to the economic impacts of the proposed pipeline (1974:3). Other than this brief discussion, there was no mention of the proceedings of the Inquiry. There was, however, a clear articulation of the territorial government's position regarding the Dene way of life:

> Indians, Eskimos and Metis have lost generally and forever a way of life which they understood and to which they were uniquely adapted. Whatever the whiteman's responsibility for this, neither he nor the native northerner can turn back. In spite of sporadic scattered attempts by some to "go back to the land" the old way has been seriously disrupted and in the main will probably gradually disappear (1974:9-10).

The intensity with which the territorial government supported acculturation had grown. Regarding the possibility of an early settlement of land claims, then Commissioner Hodgson expressed the view that this was an unlikely possibility not only because of resource development pressures, but also since the government was faced with the task of upgrading the "settlements" from what were, fifty years ago, "little more than a camp situation to some semblance of modern society" (1974:3-4). The crux of this issue became evident as the Commissioner continued with his statement:

> ...it has to be realized that the retardation of development here means only that the Northwest Territories will continue at an ever-growing rate to be dependent upon Ottawa for all of our funds...(1974:3-4).

The desire of the Northwest Territories government was to expand and assume more responsibility from the federal government in Ottawa. The implicit theme of the completed acculturation of the Dene was, therefore, not dealt with as frequently during this year.

There were other indications that the Territorial Government was not about to change its view on acculturation. For example, in reference to political activities on the part of the Dene, Kaesar stated:

> I have no hesitation in stating that I support a fair land settlement at the earliest possible date, but to suggest that all land south of Inuvik be turned over to the Indian Brotherhood or to some other group of people is totally unacceptable (1974:201).

In another example, Sibbeston was expounding an interesting view of the acculturation process:

> ...in Wrigley there is a population of 200 Indians or so there and most of the people have quit trapping and they are just living there (1974:201).

Members of the Northwest Territories government had made up their minds, as had the federal government, that the Dene way of life no longer existed and acculturation had

been successful:

> Every year it seems there are less people who go out trapping...each year I know in Fort Simpson the trappers numbers are declining every year. I think we will get to the stage where we will have game officers but no trappers at all. I think it is a very realistic thing, it is a very realistic possibility (Sibbeston 1975:531).
>
> We are talking about pipelines, the traditional life style of hunting and trapping. These things are gone forever. The day of hunting and trapping died when I was just a kid...(Lafferty 1975:25).

B. Concluding Perceptions

Dacks summarizes the perception held by government officials in the following statement:

> ...Ottawa's southern values led it to interpret the native lifestyle as so unrewarding as to be dead, incapable of resuscitation (1981:29).

It is evident from the policy initiatives and statements of the government of Canada and the Northwest Territories, in addition to federal challenges in the courts to native aboriginal rights, that the hypothesis of acculturation was firmly supported by both of these bodies. Government appeared certain that any major development projects planned for the north would be underway within a short time, and nothing would hinder that development. Fulfillment of the "Great Canadian Dream" required that energy be directed toward the exploitation of northern resources and the challenges that exploitation presented - regardless of the attitudes held by northern natives such as the Dene.

During this period, the Berger Commission was still an Order-in-Council: the community hearings had not yet begun. These hearings would dramatically alter the perceptions of Dene way of life. It is necessary first, however, to examine closely the perceptions held by industry of Dene way of life and the use of the acculturation model in forming and maintaining industry's perspective.

III. Acculturation and Industry

Prior to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, industry was operating under the hypothesis that the native way of life was dying, if not already dead. Under this assumption, industry surmised that northern non-renewable resource development would be carried out without interference from Dene or Inuvialuit residents, since these people would be more than happy to welcome this expansion of the industrial frontier. This idea was based on the notion that the only way of life in existence north of the sixtieth parallel was that of deprivation. Through the use of materials such as the impact assessment carried out by Gemini North Limited for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited (CAGPL), employment strategies outlined by Arctic Gas, and the testimony given by Dr. Charles Hobart at the pipeline Inquiry itself, it will be shown that industry was functioning within a framework of acculturation. Furthermore, it will be clear by the close of the chapter that the acculturation model was being used by industry to justify northern pipeline development.

A. The State of the Northern Way of Life

The main purpose of Gemini North's impact assessment was to show how the natural gas pipeline, proposed by Arctic Gas, would affect Indians, Inuvialuit and others in the North. It was not the purpose of the assessment to remark on whether the pipeline should be constructed. The firm did, however, operate under the assumption, based on acculturation, that it was to be understood that the territorial north was changing: "development is not a distant prospect but a current reality" (1974(a):7). Gemini North:

> ...(tried) to describe the transition from a relatively primitive economic region, oriented towards hunting and trapping and trading for goods and services, into an increasingly monetized economy, dependent on wages or subsidized support services centered in communities (1974(a):430).

According to Gemini North, the Mackenzie Valley and northern Yukon regions were characterized by a mixture of Indians, Inuvialuit, Metis and white, with each group possessing its own distinct culture, traditional lifestyle and value system. In practise, however, Gemini North had found distinctions between these various "ethnic groups" to be blurred, caused, in part, through a substantial migration of white people attracted by the increased economic activity into the Northwest Territories. This migration had changed the "ethinic balance" in the study region from one originally dominated by Indians to one

dominated by other residents (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):78; 1974(c):36,51). Because of this migration of southern people and southern values, the traditional sector of the economy was not viewed as a viable component of the rapidly-changing north:

> Perhaps the most fundamental effect was a basic demographic shift from small, isolated bush camps to an employment - cum - welfare - cum hunting and trapping way of life in the larger settlements. In broad terms, it marked the end of one lifeway and the beginning of another for an increasing number of northerners (CAGPL 1974(b):2).

Dr. Charles Hobart, a sociologist testifying on behalf of CAGPL, utilized the acculturation model in his examination of northern way of life, which was exemplified in his testimony at the Berger Commission formal hearings held in Yellowknife.

Hobart stated that the post-contact history of native people in the Mackenzie Basin was a history of growing dependency on whites. The steady and increasing erosion of the value of native folk lore, crafts and skills had been caused by mechanized technology and increased dependency on air travel,thereby making traditional knowledge increasingly irrelevant:

> ...the availability of steel tools really changed the name of the resource-harvesting game, and they could not thereafter very easily do without these new tools, and because the old skills were lost within a generation or so... (1976 vol.158:24172).

The social structures of many communities, the economic systems and their interrelationships with the family, social control, education, recreation, health and other factors, all were in the process of massive change. The result was the massive "devaluation" of things native and of the more traditional aspects of the northern native way of life which, in turn, led to a loss of respect of northern native people - both in their own eyes and those of southerners (1976 vol.157:24082-24083;vol.163:25144). The process of acculturation could be seen in the tendency of most natives to, in Hobart's view, discard canoes and kayaks, tools of native design, and dog teams, combined with a decreasing economic attractiveness of living off the land (1976, vol.157:24069).

Hobart further presents his support for the acculturation perspective, based on secondary sources of information. His purpose in quoting extensively from research reports that had covered the previous 16 years was to document the general disinterest in trapping as contrasted with wage employment, and also to emphasize that, in his view, an entire generation had grown up in communities where wage employment was preferable to trapping (1976vol.157: 24097,24120). These studies, many of which were sponsored

by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, showed that during the 1960's, native people aspired to move away from subsistence living and from trapping as a means of obtaining income, toward wage employment. With the commencement of pipeline development and employment, it was expected by Hobart that native people would become even more acculturated to southern Canadian attitudes and living patterns. This process would then progress to the point where northern natives would be reluctant to choose a traditional lifestyle as an "alternative" to pipeline employment (1976 vol.163:25142-25143):

> ...most of the important influences along the Mackenzie River for at least the last 25 years, with the pipeline proposal and its consequences as the major exceptions, have had the effect of socializing the native people away from their traditional lifestyle and toward a wage economy based lifestyle (1976 vol.163:25101).

Social Problems

Hobart repeatedly emphasized that in most areas of the Mackenzie drainage area, the traditional culture had been displaced, resulting in a number of social problems. The abuse of alcohol and increased incidences of violence and other social ills were, in industry's view, prominent features of the community life which many native residents were experiencing, caused by a lack of meaningful employment opportunities. The North was characterized by a number of social problems stemming from an influx of whites and apparently, an "incomplete" acculturation process resulting from the transition to a monetized economy.

Alcohol abuse was ingrained in the northern lifestyle, according to Gemini North, and native northerners suffered the greatest adverse affects. Alcohol consumption accounted for between 40 and 50 percent of deaths from accidents, injuries, and violence. Health officials related alcohol abuse to both mental and physical problems. In the native work force, for example, these problems manifested themselves in higher absenteeism, high turnover rates, and failing to report for work after time off (Gemini North 1974(c):199-200). Alcoholism was viewed by Gemini North as a form of escapism. native northerners, who were usually at a disadvantage with outsiders in terms of employment opportunities, wage and salary levels, and housing would experience feelings of apathy and inferiority. Alcohol was viewed as the means to escape this inferiority

(1974(c):201).

Other problems occurred in northern native communities because of factors such as inadequate sewage removal and treatment, dietary deficiencies because of a reliance on store-bought food, and a drastic deterioration in dental health. Climate contributed to the high incidence of pneumonia, influenza and respiratory diseases among native northerners, since:

> ...a native resident who must resort to a community shower is disinclined to make frequent trips from his house to the shower if the weather is fifty below zero (Gemini North 1974(c):251).

Poverty and Employment

Poverty was another perceived major problem in northern native societies, outlined by industry. Economically, Gemini North found that the study region was poor compared with the rest of Canada. Per capita personal income, exclusive of kind income and subsidies was approximately one-third of the national average. All native groups earned income below national poverty levels, and there was a wide disparity in incomes earned by the various ethnic groups in the study region, and the relative poverty of native groups in terms of cash income (1974(a):435). In his analysis, Hobart found that field surveys, such as those of Gemini North, showed a very heavy dependency on income from government sources such as transfer payments, in most northern communities - most of which were distinctly impoverished (1976 vol.157:24088,24089,24094).

The availability of gainful and respectworthy employment for a young northern native population was, according to Hobart, a great concern to those supporting the acculturation viewpoint. The lack of opportunities to experience employment demanding responsibility and commitment, to obtain the training that would lead directly to such employment, and to aspire toward such employment tended to perpetuate anti-social patterns. Without more stable employment becoming available, there would be no opportunities for the structural and motivational reasons for such anti-social behaviours to change (1976 vol.163:25109).

Fort McPherson is cited by Gemini North as a community that has already experienced social disruption associated with development. In 1973, the younger members of the working age population had, for the most part, cut their ties with

traditional lifestyles but had not adapted to the new demands imposed by rapidly encroaching development (1974(a):69; 1974(c):71), leading to serious social problems. It was felt by industry, however, that without development, problems faced by the native communites would only get worse:

> The graveyards beside the mission churches on the banks of the Mackenzie River record the history of health conditions in the study region. Below the crosses and plastic flowers lie the bodies of the drowned, the pneumonia victims, and the drunks who died of exposure in the snow and rows of children's graves beside the picket fences. Old age is not a major cause of death in the Northwest Territories (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(c):240).

Furthermore:

> The socio-economic conditions...suggest that many of the major health problems in the north are related to economic conditions which are particularly common to northern natives. Poor, overcrowded housing and poor sanitary facilities are pervasive characteristics of native life in the study region, and indeed throughout the north (Gemini North Ltd., 1974(c):242).

Problems in the area of employment were found by industry to be serious among the northern natives. Manpower data indicated to Arctic Gas that the northern native labourer was considered by industry to be highly unreliable (primarily due to excess alcohol consumption) (CAGPL 1974(a): 54-57). It was also assumed by industry that if a native employee returned late to work from his home settlement, it was due to social pressure applied by his peers and family to remain a few days extra and take part in settlement life, thereby creating conflict because the native identified more readily with his home than with his employer. Industry saw the solution to these problems in an increase in the availability of wage employment. For example, it was felt by Arctic Gas that with proper counselling and a more work-oriented perspective for both the employee and the people in each community, native absenteeism rates would decline (CAGPL 1974(a):58).

In industry's view, many of these problems were the result of a reliance of the native northerner upon welfare, since there was no adequate alternative source of cash:

> Limited incomes -- or alternatively a limited choice of things to buy -- obviously affect the quality of housing, clothing, food and health care available to the individual (Gemini North 1974(c):248).

The income-related problems were, in the view of industry, the result of a higher unemployment rate[12] among northern native males than among the potential total labour

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[12]The unemployment rate is defined by Gemini North as the proportion of the labour force which is fully employed where the labour force is net of non-participants who are unwilling or unable to work, but including jobseekers (1974(a):406).

force. Skill levels were low compared with the national average, resulting in an underutilization of the male working age population (Gemini North 1974(a):410-411). Because of these problems, native northerners could be difficult to recruit, primarily due to a problem with the lack of an efficient system of information dissemination regarding pipeline employment.[13] However, based on the assumptions that "employment is one of the great needs and desires of northerners at present" and that the most efficient means of attracting employable people to fill development positions was through word of mouth, Arctic Gas devised a recruitment plan. This plan, in the view of the company, would provide accurate information explaining the need for, and development, of a gas pipeline and what a completed pipeline would mean in terms of employment and training opportunities:

> It can be expected that the more orthodox methods e.g. radio-TV, newspapers, settlement and band councils will be utilized. We believe, however, that these conventional "white-man" methods stand little chance of reaching the target population. We therefore propose that a series of coloured comic books be designed and distributed to each northern household.
>
> The reasons for this publication are that the northern natives are voracious readers and the most pervasive form of reading material is comic books. Not only does every household have several such books on hand, it is safe to say that each comic book in the settlement will be seen by at least half a dozen individuals. Even those who cannot read can be seen intently studying their contents...
>
> It is therefore our opinion that a series of comic books be designed to familiarize the native population with regard to the training and employment aspects of the pipeline (CAGPL 1974(a):66).

There were two stages involved in the recruitment process of Arctic Gas: 1) recruitment for employment training; and 2) recruitment for the actual employment. Following recruitment, the native northerner would have had to make a "personal commitment" to commence training, in order to secure gas pipeline employment. The families of the employed male native would also undergo a training process, facilitating the acculturation process:

> We recommend that at the time of hiring native northerns, the construction company undertake to provide them with a full explanation of the use of a bank account as a means of saving their money and of managing their budget. They should be encouraged to set up a bank account in their home community (CAGPL 1974(b):23).

In addition:

> As the male becomes socialized into a wage economy, it can be assumed that

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[13] It was also difficult to determine a precise figure showing the number of native northerners who would be available for employment, or for the training necessary for the employment.

> an additional change wil occur regarding acceptable living conditions. It will be most advantageous to assist the wives during this transition period (CAGPL 1974(a):91).

It was viewed by industry as necessary to educate the remainder of the communities, since education would help the native resident to integrate into the existing southern social, economic and political structure. Consequently, education would aide the person in understanding the processes which could "be manipulated for his own benefit" (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):717). The need for different types of adult education varied from place to place:

> ...the subjects to be taught should be decided at the local level. Subjects which generally should be included in adult education are: aspects of Indian and Eskimo culture, sewing and other handicrafts... Other courses that could be very useful would consider subjects like "how to use your home", or "how to budget time" (CAGPL 1974(c):45).

It was also suggested that older people be asked to teach culture, language and traditions. Since these people would be paid for their contributions to the school, they would no longer require welfare. Moreover, as well as teaching, "They could come to scout meetings to teach about the old ways of life" (CAGPL 1974(c):43).
A process such as this was necessary, in the view of industry, because many native northerners were thrust into wage employment without basic "life skills" such as punctuality and money management, and needed assistance in the adjustment required by this form of employment (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(c):149).

Land Use Activities

It was necessary for Gemini North to account for the traditional economic sector of Dene and Inuvialuit culture when dealing with employment / economic "opportunities". This was done by examining the amount of apparent land-use activities of the Dene and Inuvialuit, and the effects of the relocation from the land to the settlement. Their conclusion that there "are no groups which spend a major portion of the year on the land at the present time" (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):628). Most people were dependent primarily on the presence of government agencies and government-sponsored programs, and only partially dependent on hunting, fishing and trapping (1974(a):7, 149).

This loss of the traditional way of life was viewed as a process of natural evolution, due to the withdrawal of the native working age population from the traditional

sector: the better-educated youth were not bush-oriented and were interested in trapping for recreational purposes only. Further, since the pursuit of traditional economic activities involved skills that were passed from one generation to another, the absence of youth (who would be pursuing wage employment), would further reduce the stock of skilled trappers (CAGPL 1974(c):47; Gemini North Ltd. 1974(b):3; 1974(c):446). Even those communities considered to be "traditional", such as Fort Good Hope, would find themselves in this situation:

> Although Good Hope retains close ties to the traditional way of life than many other corridor communities, it is presently in a state of transition, stemming from increasing exposure to the impact of a wage economy. One result has been disruptive social changes... While many of the older people continue to hunt and trap on a full or part-time basis, few of the young do so, preferring to seek wage employment if and when the opportunities arise (Gemini North Ltd 1974(a):228; 1974(c):91).

Gemini North Studies estimated the number of both full and part-time hunters and trappers in the study region at 96, with the number of full-time trappers steadily declining. These men were not usually available for permanent wage employment, due to the cyclical nature of their activities. Aklavik was cited frequently as an illustration of the perceived trend towards part-time supplemental and recreational hunting and trapping activities, rather than full-time reliance on the land. Aklavik residents viewed development favorably, as long as it did not interfere with these activities (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(b):416; 1974(c):60-61). Fort Franklin was also mentioned in regard to attitudes toward development. Even though removed from the main corridor region, its recent history indicated that the residents of the community would be responsive to any opportunities to derive potential benefits from development, and the attractions of the limited available wage employment had already resulted in a decline in traditional trapping and hunting activities (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a): 225; 1974(c):88-89). Similar effects were determined in other communities. In Tuktoyuktuk, Gemini North concluded that seismic operations increased substantially the economic base of the community, although it still suffered from high seasonal unemployment. Trapping activities were declining steadily, although there were a number of part-time trappers operating out of Tuktoyuktuk (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(c):81).

The revival interest in traditional values which appeared to have led to an increase in trapping effort in the 1972-73 season seemed, to Gemini North, to be concentrated in the

middle-aged population, who already possessed the required skills. In addition, since the native worker normally drew a substantially lower cash income from seasonal or project employment in or near the community, real income could be supplemented by trapping for cash income on weekends or during periods of unemployment, and by hunting or fishing for food.

Gemini North further denigrates the traditional economy by stating that fur trapping contributed only $581,000 to regional income in 1972 and represented a very minor share of total income - only 1.3% (1974(a):456).

Gemini North concluded:

> These observations suggest that the opportunities for permanent and part-time wage employment offered by the proposed pipeline and associated development will draw increasing numbers into the effective labour force over the time frame of the study (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):420).

Given the choice between the risks and uncertainties associated with trapping versus the greater security of income from wage employment, younger natives would opt for wage employment (CAGPL 1974(b):4;Gemini North Ltd. 1974(b):35;1974(c):416-417).

One attraction of wage employment, according to Gemini North, was that it generated cash income[14] which could be used to purchase "store bought" food, thereby further reducing the need for renewable resource foods (i.e. country foods) (Gemini North, Ltd. 1974(b): 45-46). Regarding the value of country food to native northerners, Gemini North stated that the generation of better-educated young natives would probably not be bush-oriented and therefore, disinclined to go trapping, except for recreational purposes. The primary motivation, in these cases, would not have been monetary (1974(c):28-29). Gemini North tended however, by its own admission, to downplay the value of country food to native northerners, both in terms of economic value and preference (Gemini North 1974(c):430):

> These figures underrate the importance of kind income as a supplement to cash incomes. In fact, if these relatively inexpensive food sources were not available, it would be extremely difficult for many native families to afford a store-bought substitute at substantially higher prices (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):463).[15]

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[14]Cash income was defined by Gemini North as proceeds from the sale of furs trapped, or game meat shot by the hunter, or fish sold to local individuals, retail stores and/or commercial enterprises. Kind income was defined as the imputed value of resources consumed by the hunter and dependents which is not sold but nonetheless would have to be purchased in the absence of the activity (1974(a):456).

[15]The imputed income from utilization of game meat, such as caribou and

Arctic Gas, in its study, found that another factor affecting perceptions of wage employment was that hunting and trapping, as a way of life, could no longer support a significant part of the population. However, although the traditional lifestyle had no economic importance , it continued to have "significant social and cultural meaning to northerners" (CAGPL 1974(b):4):

> The social and cultural values associated with the pursuit of traditional economic activities could out-weigh the economic returns attributable to them. Such values include basic life styles inherent in "living off the land" and food and clothing preferences.

However:

> The number of native northerners living off the land on a permanent basis is very small and likely to decrease in the immediate future (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(c):412).

B. The Acculturation Solution

In Gemini North's view, exposure to the benefits of wage employment usually accelerated a community's response to change. As more people move from the traditional sector into wage employment, they tended to become more mobile and their expectations and standards of living rose (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):151;1974(c):58):

> The trend is for a greater degree of participation by native people in wage employment and with this goes an implicit commitment to such employment and its associated way of life (CAGPL 1974(b):3).

Gemini North felt that natives tended to be receptive to development provided they would not experience adverse social consequences.

In response to concerns pertaining to the fact that native northerners did not want to be away from their families for long periods, in addition to the seasonal nature of pipeline employment, Hobart introduced his work rotation system as a solution to these problems, particularly as it related to those very few natives who wished to continue part-time hunting and trapping activities. The burden of responsibility was to rest with the

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[15](cont'd) moose, fish and other natural products can be derived from valuing the products at cost, their actual exchange or market value, or at the alternative cost of obtaining similar amounts of nutrition. Thus, caribou and moose meat harvested by hunters for their families or for communities may be valued at $.50 to $.60 per pound, which is the usual resale or exchange value, or up to $2.00 per pound, and more, the alternative cost of beef in some communities. Fish for human consumption is usually valued at $.20 to $.30 per pound on exchange value or up to $1.00 and more if purchased from a store. If such products are consumed by the family unit without monetary compensations to the hunter or payment to a store, the imputed value is said to constitute kind income (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):459).

employer, and the success of the work rotation system was to lie in the fact that people would be provided with an intrinsic reason for wanting to remain in the more isolated regions where much of the employment would be, rather than wanting to move to the south (1976 vol.163:25140;Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):416-417;Reeve 1972:59).

The poverty experienced by northern communities, in Hobart's view, could be alleviated through the provision of stable employment opportunities. An increase in wage income would supposedly have a positive effect with respect to the social problems faced by northern natives, and would provide the opportunity for the native northerner to become:

> ...reasonably prosperously self-sufficient and to prove to all that with comparable training he is just as good as the white and as my Gulf research shows, that in the north he is better (1976 vol.163:25146-25147).

Gemini North found, not surprisingly, that the white-dominated communities generally were favorable to development. Smaller native communities, that had been exposed to wage employment, appeared to favour controlled development provided it did not unduly interfere with traditional activities. Smaller native communities that were more accustomed to and dependent on living off the land were fearful of changes in their lifestyle caused by development and were cautious or firmly opposed to change (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a): 151). It appeared, from the tone of the perspective held throughout Gemini North's report, that the white-dominated communities would be given priority consideration in terms of social assistance. The following quote exemplifies the attitude held by Gemini North regarding the non-viability of the traditional economy. Within this perspective, Gemini North was tired of hearing about:

> ...anti-development "outsiders" who assume that the pursuit of traditional cultural activities, such as trapping and embroidering moccasins will solve the social ills of the north. However, the northerner with a fat bankroll from his fur returns is just as likely to buy liquor as the man with an oil company's cheque in his pocket. Similarly the $35 paid to sweet old ladies in the settlement in return for mukluks may end up at the local bootlegger's (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(a):553).

Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline, in its study, felt that pipeline employment was the answer to problems of this nature. Because people no longer carried on full-time trapping they had to remain in the settlements, without the benefit of full-time employment:

> They have more than enough leisure time. With unemployment, there is no steady income, and so no money for food, fuel and clothes. This leads to worry and frustration which builds up over a period of time and causes heavy and habitual drinking. Whereas once there were only the problems mentioned

> above to contend with, now alcohol becomes the basis for these problems (CAGPL 1974(c):36).

In addition, the proposed pipeline development would increase significantly native income levels. Gemini North expressed the view that this increase would be of benefit to the native northerners who still wished to pursue part-time subsistence activities:

> ...some of the best hunters and trappers are those who are already participating in wage employment since they have both the motivation and the money required to pursue traditional economic activities. Therefore, we can anticipate an increase in the number of part-time hunters and trappers associated with the increase in wage employment (Gemini North Ltd. 1974(c):155).

Development would according to Gemini North, improve the overall physical and mental health of the native northerners by:

> Contributing to an improvement in existing socio-economic conditions by providing basic infrastructure and revenues which could be used to improve the housing stock, sewer and water services, transportation and communication services.
>
> Contributing to increased income levels, through the training and employment of northerners and by other induced economic activity, which would be reflected in improved nutritional levels and expanded social amenities. Providing an increase in health care facilities, provided that an effort is made to integrate (and not duplicate) facilities required by pipeline development with existing facilities (Gemini North 1974(c):256).

It appears that pipeline development was required to provide enough economic stimulation to eradicate the social ills faced by northern natives. Despite the problems faced by native northerners, Hobart felt the process of acculturation had resulted in a "new and much more prideful sense of native identity", and a "new sense of purpose and of determination to achieve goals which have been set" (vol.157:24072). As a consequence of this acculturation, it was claimed that should the promise of richly increased stable employment opportunities for native people fail to materialize, or should the boom fizzle into a slump, the damage would be widespread (vol.163:25102,25107).

C. The Acculturation Conclusion

Testimonies given during the community hearings rejecting pipeline development were, according to Hobart, a result of a sense of pride and identity based on a resurgence of certain symbols. This transient "resurgence" did not, however, contradict or eliminate certain basic economic realities - the realities based on the assumption that the Dene way

of life was dead. Satisfying the native need for employment was far more important than the continuity with the past, which was no longer relevant. The skills necessary in traditional land-use activities were no longer useful in perpetuating social relationships which now had no importance in comtemporary society (vol.158:24218,24221). There no longer existed a large scale survival of traditional institutional arrangements. Wage employment would provide the solution to the social ills plaguing the northern native, and was the only means by which the self concept and self worth of native peoples could be salvaged.

Hobart's use of the acculturation framework obviously led him to the opinion that there was no alternative to pipeline employment:

> The only alternative would be to try and maintain northern peoples and northern communities as some kind of "museum piece" (vol.163:25145).

Hobart considered the viability of the traditional way of life to be overstated, to the point where he felt those not supporting an acculturation framework were trying to establish a way of life that would be, in many respects, reminiscent of the "golden age of trapping" (vol.164:25345):

> ...I guess my own conclusion is that you cannot maintain an idyllic state of natural man (1976 vol.158:24197).

The position of industry regarding acculturation and the viability of the traditional sectors of Dene and Inuvialuit economies, is summarized in the following:

> We are not talking about creating a Utopia in the western Arctic. We are advocating the extension of Canadian economic, social and political systems, imperfect though they might be, north from the 60th parallel to the Arctic Ocean and beyond. Such systems include the opportunity to choose how one makes a living; the opportunity to preserve traditional cultural values and life styles; and, the opportunity to participate fully in political decision-making processes. In essence, we are suggesting that the objective of orderly development of the north should be to become an integral part of the Canadian nation (Gemini North Ltd., 1974(b):4).

IV. Confrontation - Community Testimony

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, it was assumed by industry and government officials that, with the change to sedentary living, native people of the north no longer used much of their traditional land base, their traditional economy was dying, and most people had lost the skills required to live off the land. Moreover, the northern natives, it was claimed, had lost the desire to take part in the traditional subsistence practises. According to Judge Berger, however:

> ...if we are truly to understand what the native people want and what kind of life they seek, we must let them speak for themselves. They must decide their own preference. Their testimony, heard in community after community, is the best evidence of what really are the native goals, the native preferences, and the native aspirations (Berger 1977(a):111).

The evidence gathered by Berger at the community hearings would vigorously and seriously challenge the "pursuit of acculturation" on the parts of government and industry. The Inquiry held its first community hearings in Aklavik.

A. Aklavik

Aklavik is a hamlet located in the northwestern part of the Mackenzie Delta on the Peel Channel of the Mackenzie River. The name Aklavik means "place of the barrenland grizzly bear". The terrain is underlain by permafrost and delta silt. Trapping in the area began in 1870, although the settlement did not come into existence until 1915. Fur production was the economic base of Aklavik; moreover, during the last several years, the manufacture of fur garments and handicrafts has had a stabilizing influence on the economy.

In 1974, the population was approximately 761. The population was a mixture of Dene, Inuvialuit, Metis, and white. Major local retail and commercial enterprises included general stores and fur traders, an air service and barge service, a winter road, telecommunications and television reception, trucking and excavating services. Government services included a nursing station, R.C.M.P., schools, welfare services, electricity, library, post office and various forms of public housing. Community services included trucked garbage and waste disposal, fire department, a curling rink and churches. It has been typified as a moderately developed community but a relatively static one because it is off the main transportation routes (Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited

1974:56;Pipeline Application Assessment Group 1974:121).

Aklavik Dene and Inuvialuit, although culturally distinct, had one thing in common: the possibility of pipeline development and the subsequent destruction of their way of life. The Dene and Inuvialuit of this community were speaking with one mind throughout their testimonies, putting forth their opposition to the development interests of the south. The land could not be developed in the manner proposed by government and industry because the land was not a commodity to be bought or sold on a piece of paper, but was owned in the hearts of the Aklavik natives.

It was inferred through white testimony that, because of the large influx of white southerners, Aklavik had essentially become a "white" community. The native residents did not share this sentiment. Some Dene and Inuvialuit felt they were caught in a paradox when referring to their concerns regarding the loss of some of the old ways of life due, for example, to the impact of the forced white education system. The natives of Aklavik, as was the case in most northern native communities, did not have an option of whether to attend white schools. This fact was tearing at the hearts of Aklavik native residents, as the following statement illustrates:

> I have experienced the loneliness of being away from home, away from my parents, the alienation of persons like myself towards the people. Sometimes I get bitter against the educational system that is employed in the North for stealing the language, the language of my people, and stealing my culture, and worst of all, stealing of my pride and joy of being an Indian, and to me that is sort of cultural genocide (Lawrence Norbert, April 3, 1975:75).

If their existing way of life was eroded further, there would be no possibility of native survival within the community. Aklavik was not equipped to handle the past influx of white workers, and, according to the community testimonies, was certainly not any more capable of coping with a further influx stemming from pipeline development. The majority of Dene and Inuvialuit felt that further development would not stimulate Aklavik's economy, but only make the current economic situation worse and exacerbate existing social problems.

Although the community had, obviously, experienced a number of problems due to southern influences, it was repeatedly stated in the native testimonies that the Dene and Inuvialuit continued to live off the land by hunting, ratting and fishing. Traditional bush subsistence was, to these people, crucial to their existence and their culture. Hence, the pipeline had to be stopped at any cost. If the pipeline development was allowed to

proceed, the native people testified they would be trapped forever and their way of life destroyed. The affect of a pipeline on the animals in the area, according to the testimony, would be enormous. Witnesses felt caribou would move far away; seals and fish and all the animals would die in great numbers. The people of Aklavik based this view on their past experiences, related to development. Many had observed that seismic blasting had killed many fish and rats, and seals no longer came because of offshore development activities. In addition, machines had damaged the land, run over traps and snares, and killed animals. Creeks and rivers had been polluted and noise had driven animals away. All of these factors had a negative effect on the community. In the past, muskrats and rabbits were plentiful. Because of the discovery of gold, an influx of whites, and subsequent development activities, community residents testified that the numbers of these animals were few. In addition, there were no longer any berries on the seismic trails; migration patterns of caribou herds had changed, and many changes in animal behaviour had been observed. It was clearly articulated that the pipeline would have a disastrous effect upon the community and would result in the destruction of the future for the Dene and Inuvialuit. The children would have nothing if they did not have their land:

> ...in many ways I inherit what my grandfather and father have given me. A place to live in, a place to own, something I have a right to, when I am here, or even consider I would like to give something for the future generations of my children so they will have something to talk about and something to live by and something to live on, and they also should have the right to inherit this country (Peter Thrasher, April 2, 1975:14).

As it was, existing developments already had a devastating effect on Aklavik which would take years to repair. Living off the bush was the only alternative available to the natives of this community since, according to the community testimony, they were not qualified for any jobs a development project might bring and any wage employment offered would go to southerners.

It was felt by many native residents of Aklavik that they were not adequately informed by industry of the effects the pipeline would have on the environment and, hence, on the Dene and Inuvialuit way of life. The view was expressed that Aklavik was not ready for development of the land, and whoever supported development was "crazy". Many Dene and Inuvialuit felt, however, that although the federal government had no right to seize the land from the natives of Aklavik, the government would probably proceed with pipeline development anyway:

> The river is still running. The sun still goes up and down, and the black mountain is still up there, but today it seems that the way our people understand, the Government is giving up our land. It is giving to the seismic people and the other people coming up here, selling us our land. The Government is not keeping its word, at least as some of us see it (Mr. Sittilchinli, April 3, 1975:87).

The testimony presented the view that the Dene and Inuvialuit did not trust the federal government: should development proceed, native residents put forward the view that the settlement of land claims was essential prior to pipeline construction, and that the Dene and Inuvialuit would have to be assured of control of the subsequent development:

> ...land settlement between the government and the people of the Northwest Territories, a land settlement where the Native people will control their land and development. We are not against development, but we want to control it. In every movie about the Indian wars, the Indians people always lose.
> I now ask the Government, the southern people of Canada, to let us win this one (Charlie Furlong, April 2, 1975:17).

If this was the case, the Dene and Inuvialuit would be able to maintain their way of life. If development was to proceed in an uncontrolled manner, however, the way of life of the northern natives go the "way of the rat".

The native people of Aklavik would not allow the processes supporting the policy of acculturation to continue. Through the community testimony, it was evident that the Dene and Inuvialuit of Aklavik felt there was a new generation coming that would not allow any further erosion of the way of life in existence in northern communities. Things were not as they used to be, however, and they recognized it was going to be difficult to protect the economy and lifestyle of bush subsistence which still existed in the community of Aklavik. They were not willing to become part of the mainstream of Canadian culture, if it meant the destruction of their way of life.

B. Tuktoyuktuk

Tuktoyuktuk is a hamlet located on tidewater north of the entrance of the eastern channel of the Mackenzie River into Kugmallit Bay on the Beaufort Sea. Dr. John Richardson of the Franklin Expedition visited this area in 1826; however, Tuktoyuktuk did not appear as a settlement until 1934 with the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company supply point from Herschel Island.

In 1973, the population was approximately 645, of which 578 were Inuvialuit. Commerical and retail enterprises and facilities included (in 1974) a general store and fur

trader, a harbour and barge service, regular air services, CN telecommunications and a transport contractor and expeditor, a winter road to Inuvik, a restaurant and banking services. Community and government services included community hall, schools, R.C.M.P., churches, as curling rink, fire department and trucked water, a library, a post office and welfare services (Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline 1974: 119; Pipeline Application Assessment Group 1974: 147). Witnesses in this area have not been divided into Dene and Inuvialuit because they were united in their determination to stop the pipeline, at least until their land claims had been settled.

In the Inuvialuit language, the word for "pipeline" was invented only two years prior to the commencement of the community hearings, thereby providing an indication of the knowledge the Inuvialuit had of major northern development prior to the threat of the Mackenzie Valley and energy corridor development. According to the testimony, what was needed by the Inuvialuit of this community was not family allowance or old age pensions, but meat. The people of Tuktoyuktuk were proud of their culture, their land, and were willing to teach people southern job skills in order to prevent development from getting out of control. If, however, development was allowed to proceed at a rate that was far beyond what was desireable, in the view of the natives of this community there would be dramatic increases in bootlegging and drinking, with the resultant increases in social problems.

Another primary reason for this desire to regain and maintain control was the importance placed by the Inuvialuit on country food. The people of Tuktoyuktuk found themselves in a dilemma because a few residents worried the land could not support everyone in the community, thereby making part-time wage employment necessary. All residents feared, however, that full-scale development was going to result in irreparable damage to the land. It was evident from the testimony that the traditional bush economy was still very much a viable part of native life. "The land nevertheless is depended on by northerners to help supplement their everyday grocery bill" (John Steen, March 8/9, 1976: 41289). The Dene and Inuvialuit of Tuktoyuktuk were concerned about their sources of country food, and cited many examples of the effects previous developments had on their traditional food resources: seals coated with oil, whales driven away by drilling, the dumping of oil in the Bay and the death of large numbers of fish due to seismic

blasts. Many claimed that the oil companies were responsible for driving moose and caribou from the area and frightening geese from their nesting grounds. In the past, according to elders of Tuktoyuktuk, bands came together for whaling expeditions. During times such as these, stories would be told to all members of the community, and, as a result, the youth learned from their elders. Everyone lived happily - food was not scarce. In addition, there was no 'white' food in the early days, since there were very few white people. Family allowances and other transfer payments did not exist. Despite the lack of these things, not one witness felt this life was difficult. The dependency upon the land was total

> (interpreted) He said the only way the Eskimo lived them days was from the animals that were in the water or on land. They put them away in oil for the winter, they had lots of oil, and they dried the meat and the fish, and anything they could find was always all from the land (Felix Nerysoo, March 8-9, 1976:4167).

Abrupt changes took place with first the coming of the whalers, then white trappers and fur traders. In the 1950 s and 1960 s, moves to the settlement occurred resulting, according to Dene and Inuvialuit witnesses, in near starvation because people were not using the land as extensively. The fish and moose began to disappear as developers were leaving garbage and abusing the land. This trend continued, resulting in geese shifting their migration patterns, fewer seals and caribou. The place where whales were chased, according to an elder of the community, was now dry ground.

The hunters of Tuktoyuktuk continued to be mobile, moving to where there was good hunting. Whaling occurred every summer by following the shore and land-locked ice. When one elder was recalling whaling expeditions of his youth, he mentioned hunting with harpoons, kayaks, bow and arrow, and some muzzle-loaders. There were no snowmobiles in those days, but food was abundant; therefore, there was no need to have the ability to traverse a wide range of hunting territory. After the whaling season, the hunters spread out over the coast for the caribou hunt. The caribou would be chased into the lake and killed. In December and January, and in the fall, fish and seals were taken, and following this hunt, polar bears were taken. In March, ptarmigan were hunted. It was emphasized by Dene and Inuvialuit of Tuktoyuktuk that although the white encroachment had eroded their culture, their traditional methods of hunting, and the hunting schedule, still existed. An example of this given during the testimony was the fact that some native hunters had

returned to the use of dogsleds because snowmobiles were too expensive to operate. Another point that was often raised in the testimony concerned the important aspect of learning the native culture:

> One thing I learned about trapping, one thing I learned about hunting is that we never know everything all at one time. No matter how old you get, you I believe you keep learning, you find out something new and this is what I like about it, because sometimes you figure you know everything and then again there's times that you find out that it's not true and you sort of happy that there are other things to learn (Randy Podiak, March 8, 1976:4227).

In 1974, the people of Tuktoyuktuk held a variety of occupations, but most of them were related in some way to the land: for example, some worked for the hunters and trappers association, as reindeer herders, trappers and hunters, or for committees dealing with land claims issues. All were at least part-time hunters. Many stated that southern employment opportunities, such as work on the D.E.W. Line, were difficult to obtain, since southern industry hired only southern people. The community of Tuktoyuktuk needed training centres in order to advance the development of job creation, but there was great concern expressed that the community would lose income if those who live off the land were pushed aside. The land was the "bank" of the North and also provided the meat needed to live on. This point reiterated the view the money was not what was important - the land was what mattered. Another major concern pertained to short-term "riches" if the pipeline development went ahead.

Rather than dwell upon the past, the Dene and Inuvialuit of this community emphasized in their testimonies the need to maintain hope for the survival of their culture and remaining way of life. They now had to think ahead, which was why the proposed pipeline development was rejected by native members of Tuktoyuktuk - it would destroy the culture that remained. In addition, whites were not trusted, and promises made by whites concerning pipeline development were, according to many native residents, promises made to be broken. The Northwest Territories government would not protect the interests of the natives, since it was felt that Yellowknife bureaucrats were no different than Ottawa bureaucrats when it came to northern development. There were not many references made during the testimony to problems faced by individuals of the community of Tuktoyuktuk: the concern was with their way of life as a whole. There was, however, one witness who remembered vividly an experience of his youth, which exemplified the notion that white people and their promises were not be be relied upon.

> (When he was 17) I had told of a number of human bones lying about on the rocks. To this fellow said if I could go out there and pick up a couple of skulls and bring them back, he would pay me well for them. So I being only about 17 years old with very scanty schooling, I hitched up my dogs and went off there and picked up a couple of these skulls. The trip took me 6 hours to do it, and I came back with these two skulls and though they were looking at me all the way back, I tried not to look back at them. One of the skulls had a hole in the centre between the eyebrows...and a hole in the back of the skull... When I brought these skulls to the person who wanted them, he took them and put them in the oven to dry, and he forgot all about them. About an hour later I could smell something strange, like moss getting hot, and I went and when I went to open the oven there was these two skulls, just grinning at me.
>
> The fellow left the next day and I am still to this day waiting for a carton of cigarettes he promised me for payment (John Steen, March 8-9, 1976:4181-4182).

C. Fort Good Hope

Fort Good Hope is a predominantly native settlement located on the east bank of the Mackenzie River near its confluence with the Hare Indian River in the Central Mackenzie region. Fort Good Hope is the oldest settlement in the region, established by the Northwest Company in 1805 as a fur-trading post, and changing locale a number of times before returning to its present site. For many years, Fort Good Hope was the northernmost post, established to trade with the Kutchin as well as Hare Indians. The location later served the Hudson's Bay Company as a base for expansion to Fort McPherson and into the Mackenzie Delta.

The population in 1974 was approximately 421. Government and community services included a school, welfare services, post office, R.C.M.P., a wharf and barge service, churches, community hall, an airstrip and winter road, and some telecommunications. Commercial and retail enterprises included a general store and fur trader, a general construction firm, and a fly-in banking service (Pipeline Application Assessment Group 1974:125-126;Resource Management Consultants 1980:281).

The community testimony of Fort Good Hope emphasized that they did not consider Dene ways to be better than the ways of the south - only different. They were trying to keep their traditional ways alive. Moreover, the Dene people of this community did not feel they were near extinction, as southern industry and government would lead people to believe. Nevertheless, the Dene feared that should the pipeline be built, any chance of keeping their culture intact would be threatened, if not eliminated. The possible annihilation of their culture was a notion which the proud, self-determining people refused

to accept:

> For the Dene people, it was nothing very new or different to declare ourselves a nation. We have always seen ourselves in these terms. We have our own land, our own languages, our own political and economic system. We have our own culture and traditions and history, distinct from those of your nation (Chief T'Seleie, August 5, 1975: 1771).

There were many witnesses who stated that in the past, the Dene lived as one big family, emphasizing the principle of sharing of goods and resources. Because of the nature of their way of life, idleness was not permitted, nor was greed. As time progressed, however, the elders of Fort Good Hope observed that there had been many influxes of strangers, primarily white strangers, resulting in a number of social problems. Having strangers at your doorstep contributed to increases in alcoholism and venereal diseases. It was admitted, in this small community, that because of these "invasions" of interlopers, children were tending toward showing less respect for their elders, which was something many Dene found unacceptable.

It could be said that all of these problems represented a "degeneration" of Dene culture. This was, however, not the case. Based on the community testimonies, a "new generation" of Dene had awakened, where the idea was fostered and maintained that to be born Dene is to stay Dene. The Dene way of life was very much alive:

> I have inherited my language and culture, thus I inherited the Dene way of life. This heritage has always lived with me and I have and will always be proud to be a Dene (James Caesar, August 5, 1975: 1776).

There existed no reserve mentality among the Dene of Fort Good Hope. They sought only to outline differences between Dene and southern cultures so their children could maintain their senses of identity. The Dene held no grudge against white culture, but emphatically refused to allow their way of life to continue to be threatened in the future, as it had in the past.

In the case of Fort Good Hope, it was difficult to make a distinction between the Dene economy and relationship to the land. Repeatedly, Dene witnesses talked of their intimacy with the land, in both spiritual and economic senses. Many Fort Good Hope residents testified that, after seeking other types of employment, such as teaching and social work, they returned to a life on the land. It was not as monetarily rewarding, but the Dene felt that their way of life was a healthy one, mentally and physically, because of the hard work. The land and its resources would continue to provide the livelihood for many

of this community's Dene. It was evident that the land was perceived as the life-giver, in addition to "home". As a breathing, human being the land could not have artificial boundaries attached to it, nor could it be replaced. The Dene respected the land, were proud of it, and had been proud of it for thousands of years. In return for the respect the Dene had given the land, it had provided food and sustained their way of life.

Much of this testimony was emotional because a pipeline, running through the heart of their land, would run through the hearts of the Fort Good Hope Dene:

> We, the Dene, do not want pipelines or highways to pierce the heart of our land like spears, killing all life now present, including the white man's and other people of this earth (James Caesar, August 5, 1975: 1821).

> We don't want pipeline because the pipeline will give trouble to our children.
> ...we want our land, this is our land, and our children want to live on it, after us, as well as with us.
> ...this land...is our life and is our blood, this land (Jim Pierrot, August 5, 1975: 1813-1814).

The majority view of the Dene was that life was very good before the white man came. Land and people were not restricted by artificial boundaries. Then, technology caught up to the Dene:

> (on seeing the first airplane to land at Fort Good Hope) we...more or less led a quiet life and that's the first noise we ever heard. And then the worlds changed, the north has changed and developments take place and our land, the world, our land is changing from day to day (Jim Pierrot, August 7, 1975: 1994).

Many witnesses spoke of seismic lines damaging traplines and destroying the environment. Seismic blasting had resulted in dead ducks washing up on the shores of the rivers and beavers blinded and dying because they could not survive the explosions. Many trappers spoke of cat trails severely eroding the land and animals becoming more scarce because of industrial activies. One hunter had experienced moose meat tasting of oil, and hides that had been ruined because of oil. Consequently, the Dene of Fort Good Hope expressed fears regarding the threat to their very existence, should the pipeline be built:

> When the pipeline goes through, all the animals will be destroyed. I wouldn't be able to survive, since I live off the land. I wouldn't be able to get a job, since I never had education. I just live off the land since I was born and grow up with it.
> I couldn't get anything out of pipeline. It will only destroy us and our way of life, also our land (Gabriel Kochon, August 6, 1975: 1836-1837).

Since the majority of the Dene in this community made their living off the land, they rejected pipeline development under any circumstances:

> Our reality is that we are a nation of people and that we want to live our own

> ways... Our reality is that there is a very simple choice - Dene survival with no pipeline, or a pipeline with no Dene survival (August 6, 1975: 1843).

Pipeline development was looked upon as a poison that would destroy current and future generations of Dene. Some simply did not trust the government and industry, as the following quote suggests:

> We have told you the pipeline is not necessary and that there will be no pipeline. The reason that being the first, we own the land; second, we have lived here for thousands of years.
>
> Is the executive of the Government of Canada and business companies going to send experts up here on our land and try to convince us that the moon is made of cheese? (August 7, 1975: 2054).

Many Dene of this community expressed the view that if development must take place, native claims must be settled first. This sentiment was expressed in very emotional terms:

> Mr. Berger, if I come to somebody's lot in the south and take a shovel and start digging, like they won't like it. They would get the whiteman's law after me and then they would put me in jail and I know this would happen. This is the way we think also about our lot, our lovely land of the Northwest Territories. We don't want any more developments or pipeline before the land claim is settled (Jonas Kakfwi, August 6, 1975: 1802).

It was repeatedly stated that the Dene must have control over the pace of development. Many were convinced, however, that with development would come entirely new social problems, resulting from an influx of strangers - southern workers. If the past was any indication, the Dene believed these fears found their roots in fact and past experience. The people of this community expressed the belief that they were caught in a paradox where government was concerned. The Dene considered themselves a nation, with their own land, their own languages, their own political and economic systems. They were definitely not a people who had fallen victim to acculturation, since all of their institutions were distinct from those of the southern Canadian nation. If the Dene, however, did not respond to the wishes of the federal government they felt their culture would be threatened. If they did respond, the Dene were viewed as political troublemakers by both industry and government:

> Our leaders saw the need to discuss with the Dene people what was happening to them and their land and their future. So we decided to organize and study our situation. We formed the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories. Many of us started to really wake up to realize that a new day faced the Dene people... we started to work on our land claims... We came out with our Dene Declaration... we wrote on paper our rights as a Dene Nation, which have never changed for thousands of years. Because we never wrote it down on paper before, the Government says we are being influenced by radical outsiders. The reason our views may

> seem strange and unrealistic is that no one has ever bothered to take us seriously - to look closely at us as Dene people (Steve Kakfwi, August 6, 1975: 1840-1842).

As time progressed, according to some Dene of Fort Good Hope, the federal government had developed pangs of moral conscience where the lives of the Dene were concerned. It was expressly stated in the testimony, however, that the Dene did not want helpings of "conscience". What they did want was to govern their own lands and way of life, their own way.

History has proven to the Dene that the southern idea of development and change has resulted in destruction of land, and, if not controlled, in the destruction of their way of life. In spite of this threat, the Fort Good Hope Dene remained a strong people with a distinct and vibrant way of life:

> They can go to school and learn the whiteman's way after they've learned the bush life. They have to learn to be a Dene before they try to be anything else because that is what we are (Judy Lafferty, August 5, 1975: 1805).

The Fort Good Hope Dene were also willing to fight for their land. One of the most thought-provoking testimonies pertaining to this issue was given by a young Dene who was well-aware of the "realities" of development, government, and the Dene way of life:

> The federal government sees reality as an impression that gas is needed in the south as soon as possible, and that it is necessary to have it as cheaply as possible. The government appears willing to jeopardize the well-being and, in fact, the existence of all this land, its people and their future in gaining its objective. We must defend our very existence as a people and fight for our land. We are being invaded by outsiders who have no respect for land and for its people. This is our reality...the federal government may be richer and more powerful than we are, but their reality is only one way of looking at the world... But we, too, have our reality, our Dene reality. It is just as real and important and factual to us as the federal government's reality is to them (Steve Kakfwi, August 6, 1975: 1839).

D. Fort McPherson

Fort McPherson is a predominantly native settlement on the east bank of the Peel River, 24 miles from its junction with the Mackenzie River. Fort McPherson was named after the Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was built in 1840. The economic base of the settlement is trapping and some wage employment. Country foods such as fish and caribou are used extensively.

In 1974, the population was approximately 761. Community and government services in Fort McPherson included a nursing station, a school, a hostel, R.C.M.P., a

justice of the peace, welfare services, a post office, piped water, electricity, a wharf and barge services, landing strip and Dempster Highway, community hall, churches, and a fly-in banking service. Retail and commercial services included general stores and furtraders, trucking contractors and a construction contractor (Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited 1974:68;Pipeline Application Assessment Group 1974:129-130).

The people of this community were honest in their evaluation of the existence of social problems within Fort McPherson, stemming from past sedentarization and development activities. However, it was emphasized that these were problems over which the Dene had no control - precisely due to past development:

> ...Mr. Berger, can you or anyone else really believe that we Indian people are now living the way we have chosen to live? Can you really believe that we have chosen to have high rates of alcoholism, murder, suicide, and social breakdown? Do you think we have chosen to become beggars in our own homeland? (Philip Blake, July 9,1975:1080).

They feared a further influx of strangers, spoiling the land and the youth, and resulting in further increases in crime rates, drug and alcohol abuse, and unemployment. In addition to problems of this nature, the Dene of Fort McPherson feared that children who lived in the community itself would become very difficult to deal with, because they would lose their sense of identity should further uncontrolled development be allowed to take place. The concern was with the problems the proposed development would precipitate, and the destruction of the last Canadian "frontier". The Dene did not feel, moreover, that the promises of employment opportunities would be of benefit to the people of the community, or would even materialize. Even if the Dene did want wage employment, many were convinced the jobs would go to southerners, since any previous jobs had not gone to northern natives. The pipeline would do nothing to reduce poverty and would only cause more problems. Even though the social problems looked bleak in the community of Fort McPherson, it was obvious the attachment to and love for the land and the way of life this entails was still very much a part of the Dene existence. The land was their friend and had taken care of the Dene for thousands of years. It was also a last frontier which was not to be destroyed:

> We have always tried to treat our guests well, it never occurred to us that our guests would one day claim that they owned the whole house (Philip Blake, July 9,1975:1082).

It was emphasized in the testimonies that their way of life was not dead: hunting, fishing and trapping remained a viable part of the economy and lifestyle of the Dene. It was strongly felt, by both young and old, that the land was their life - the land would not "burn" but money would. The land could not be destroyed, if used according to Dene values and beliefs. Moreover, according to the Dene living both within and without the settlement, land was the best thing for all people:

> Being an Indian means being able to understand and live with this world in a very special way. It means living with the land, with the animals, birds and fish as though they were your sisters and brothers. It means saying the land is an old friend that your father knew, your grandfather knew, indeed your people have always known (Richard Nerysoo, July 10, 1975:1183).

According to the testimony, prior to the period when whites wanted Dene land, the Dene relied on bows and arrows, stone axes, caribou skins and wigwams. There were no stores or seismic trails and, according to the older witnesses, life was much happier then. Roads and seismic explosions came along, making the protection of the Dene way of life difficult: there were fewer rats to be found, fewer fish, and more and more white people. Seismic trails had eroded into streams, and berries were not growing the way they used to. Despite these problems, the Dene stated that young people still loved the bush and many were returning to bush subsistence, because the "country was quiet". Most hunters had remained self-employed in the bush, relying on caribou, moose, fur-bearing animals and fish. In addition, if employment or education opportunities did not work out, many felt that it was always possible to return to the land. A major disagreement the Dene of this community had with southern perceptions was with the concept of land ownership. Southerners did not understand a northerners concept of land ownership, and many felt this lack of understanding was the root of the problem with the south.

The federal government usually was not mentioned in favourable terms in the testimony of the Dene of Fort McPherson. Consistent with their views on white encroachment, this rejection of bureaucratic processes, according to the testimony, extended as far back as the treaty signing of 1921: it was frequently stated in the testimony that no Dene understood he was signing a land extinguishment treaty. Many Dene felt that the whites had, over the years, taken what they wanted regardless of the law of the treaty. The Dene felt they were part of a nation which excluded the federal government in Ottawa. In addition, by virtue of the length of time the Dene had used the

land, they felt they had a right to self-governance as a self-determining peoples:

> Before Canada became a nation, the Indian people were a nation among themselves. The English and the French fought for land, for the land, calling it theirs. But it really belonged to the Indians. And even calling it Crown land will not change the way we think (Gladys Nerysoo, July 9, 1975: 1122).

The people of Fort McPherson expressed the belief that studies done by the federal government, whether they pertained to land claims or oil and gas development, were "white observations", and were based on the premise that the Dene must live like the white southerners conducting the studies, since their own way of life was non-existent. In short, the Dene of this community were "fed-up" with whites.

In Fort McPherson, the Dene rejected development totally. The pipeline was described by one witness as a "monster", threatening to destroy the land and Dene way of life. It was repeatedly stated that the pipeline was threatening future generations, since the young people would not be the ones benefitting from the development and it would bring nothing but noise, headaches, damage and garbage. The noise from seismic blasting, as well as the pollution, would kill all the animals, thereby destroying the subsistence base of the Dene in the community area, and affecting the livelihoods of many in the surrounding areas. It was felt that if development was approved, drastic measures such as "blowing up" the pipeline would be undertaken. The Dene of Fort McPherson made it known through their testimonies that they wanted time to think - and change in their own way. This meant continuing their traditional way of life, the way they saw their way of life, and not the way the south perceived their way of life to be.

E. Fort Franklin

Fort Franklin is a native settlement located on the southwest shore of Great Bear Lake near the mouth of Great Bear River. The community was named after Sir John Franklin who occupied the Fort as a winter headquarters from 1825-1827. Franklin's purpose in the area was to explore and map the south shore of the Polar Sea. There appears to have been a Northwest Company trading post in the vicinity early in the 19th century. In 1825 the Hudson's Bay Company established a post close to the earlier Northwest Company site. The Hudson's Bay Company moved to the present site in 1932 when it purchased the post of an independent fur trader. In the 1950's, the Hare Indians living in scattered camps in the vicinity moved into the settlement and formed the existing

community.

In 1974, the population was approximately 404. Hunting, trapping and fishing continued to provide the local economic base. Community services included trucked water and garbage, churches, post office, school and library, and a game officer. Retail and commercial facilities were minimal, but included general stores and a fur trader, a craft shop and a small general contractor (Pipeline Application Assessment Group 1974:125;Resource Management Consultants 1980:310).

It was repeatedly stated in the testimony of Fort Franklin residents that a person could always return to the bush during hard economic times, since it was possible to obtain everything that is required to live from the land. All of the witnesses stated, one way or another, that they liked the bush life, and the large number of full-time trappers confirmed this view. The land was important to the economy, because in times of need no one would go hungry. In discussing the financially poor state of the community of Fort Franklin, it was felt by one person that the Hudson's Bay Company had stolen from the Dene. This attitude was exemplified by the statement that Dene people were buried in rags, while white people were rich. In addition, what was most important was the people did not want money, but wanted only their land since survival of the Dene way of life depended on the land and animals:

> The grass and trees are our flesh, the animals are our flesh...we do not have any money, we will never be rich, but the animals that eat off the grass, the animals that eat off the birches and the barks and stuff like that, that we live off...we like the way we are living. We don't want this to change... we love our land and we don't want any damage done to it (June 24, 1975:684).

The land was the life of the Dene of Fort Franklin:

> ...many people here today... maybe half of them don't know how to read English or write English...but half of them can survive just on the land itself... They don't necessarily have to have jobs. And or any other government activities. But they can still survive on the land (Isadore Modeste, June 24, 1975:621).

All members of the community supported this view, regardless of age:

> ...for the past four years, the white man has been bothering us for land. They want to do this with our land and that with our land. We don't want anything to happen to our land. Because it is very important to us (Joe Bayah, June 24, 1975: 659).

It was felt that if the land were destroyed, the way of life for both Dene and white would change for the worse. It was, therefore, necessary to defend the land, and hence defend the Dene way of life. The land was considered to be the blood of the Dene; therefore, no

man had the right to decide what was to be done on the land. Only the "maker" could decide what would happen. Based on this concept, the Dene of Fort Franklin felt they should be allowed to determine what would occur on the land which was theirs.

The majority of Fort Franklin residents mentioned that hunting processes (in 1975) were similar to those of the past and were confirmed by oral traditions. Traps were set as the men proceeded along their trails, while fishing nets were set at night. Great distances were covered, made even more difficult by the fact that wolves often pilfered the furs. One witness relayed a story of how he used willows to catch fish because there were no nets, and a bow and arrow to kill caribou because there were no rifles. Many used to sleep with only a caribou-hide blanket for protection, since there were no tents in the "old" days.

When hunting caribou, all of the young men participated, while the elders and women stayed behind in Fort Franklin or in trapping camps. One female witness described how, during the period the men were out hunting and trapping, the women trapped where they lived, prepared and dried the meat and fish, and made clothing. This process involved scraping the hair from the hide and scraping the meat from the inside. Following this, the skin was scraped while it was still damp and then was tanned. Implements used in the hunting process included birch bark pots, willow nets, wooden traps, and a few muzzle-loading rifles. Flint was commonly used to light fires:

> In the summertime you used the flints, and in the wintertime you had, you had to take gunpowder and you used to moisten that gunpowder and then hang it up in a bag and you let it hang there until it dries all up and then you used to use the rocks to make the sparks and then the gunpowder would start on fire, then they would start gathering birch bark coverings and place it on the fire so that in the wintertime they had two different means of making fire. In the wintertime it was flints and in the summertime it was moist and dried gunpowder (June 25, 1975:678).

According to some Dene of this community, the signing of the Treaty in 1921 signified the beginning of the downfall for many. The testimony of the older residents presented the view that in the past, there was an abundance of animals and fish and fowl in the Fort Franklin area. Trappers and hunters made a good living, and life was fruitful. Ever since 1921, however, it has been harder to maintain the Dene way of life. White people have been bothering the Dene and their animals, in contravention of Treaty regulations. There are roads crossing all over the land, animals are scarce, and both fish and animals are being poisoned and are dying quickly. Despite these problems, however, it was emphasized by many witnesses, that hunters and fishermen fed, and continue to feed, all

community members. This fact emphasizes the principle and importance of sharing among the Dene of Fort Franklin, and the existence of a vibrant way of life.

In reference to issues pertaining to education, it was emphasized by Fort Franklin residents that children in this community could not live by white education alone, but lived two lives: the traditional and the one which was learned through formal white education. It was mentioned by witnesses that children in Fort Franklin enjoyed the bush, and enjoyed trapping with their parents. Many witnesses spoke of the importance of maintaining their own forms of education, and the need to maintain their own lifestyle. There was also an emphasis on both parents playing a role in the education of their children. Also mentioned by these same witnesses was that they were taught, as children, that their ancestors were pagan. This appeared to have strongly reinforced the view of one person that Indian ways were "right", whereas another witness felt that Indian ways were different from those of white people, not better:

> ...God created earth and God made land so that there is enough land for the white people and there is enough land for the Indian people. And He also made that their lives should be separate. You know, like their way of life is different from our way of life (Cecile Modeste, July 24, 1975:633).

A point emphasized was the "sharing" aspect of Dene life, and the notion that this aspect appears to be absent in the white population. Sharing, and knowledge pertaining to traditional lifeways, had been passed down through generations to Fort Franklin Dene giving testimony. More than half of the testimonies raised this idea of "culture transmission", in addition to their insistence that their way of life must be allowed to remain as is. The Dene survived 1000 years before white people came, and would continue to survive, through the existence and continued viability of the Dene way of life.

In regard to the role of southern government in the lives of the Dene, it was felt that the federal government was controlled by the southern oil companies, and hence had control over the north and too much control over the lives of the younger people. Distant southern politicians were viewed with suspicion by all Dene witnesses of Fort Franklin who talked about government, particularly since "Ottawa" was too far away to have a right to decide what happened in the north. In addition, one witness felt the federal government had a tendency to impose its own system on the Dene, and would not listen to the people of the north.

It is evident from the following quote that pipeline development was not an option to the people of Fort Franklin.

> ...the thing is they are going to damage the land, and they are going to go through the Mackenzie Valley and the animals go right by the rivers and that is how the game is going to disappear in 50 years time. We don't want it to happen (Charlie Nielly, June 25, 1975:711).

The main concern of the witnesses of Fort Franklin was for future generations. Many expressed the concern that if pipeline development occurred, the children of the community would not have a future or, at the very least, would not have an opportunity to continue the Dene way of life, which was cherished by these people. The basic argument rejecting development was that the land would be destroyed. Many spoke about the possible effects of leaks in the pipeline, more pollution, and the concern that this would be only the beginning of development: there would surely be more pipelines to follow. Seismic damage was frequently mentioned, indicating the damage done to the animals by blasting and the accompanying noise. It was stated that too many fish and animals would die if development of the area occurred, and if blasting continued in the lakes.

The consensus of the testimonies given at Fort Franklin was no pipeline development whatsoever, in order to preserve the Dene way of life. If development was inevitable it could only occur after land claims had been settled, since the damage done by development would be irreparable. To the Dene of this community, the only possible way of life was the Dene way of life.

F. Confrontation

Possibly the strongest statement made in opposition to pipeline development was made by Chief T'Seleie of Fort Good Hope(1975):

> It is for this unborn child, Mr. Berger, that my nation will stop the pipeline. It is so that this unborn child can know the freedom of this land that I am willing to lay down my life.

Justice Berger originally went to the communities because he believed there was as much wisdom in Old Crow was there is in Ottawa (Bregha 1979). Natives in the communities used in this illustration (in addition to the remainder of the communities visited by Berger) told the Commission that they regard themselves as bound to the land and the animals with which they share the world.

They regard themselves as custodians of the land, which is for their use during

> their lifetime, and which they must pass on to their children and their children's children after them (Berger 1977(a) 93).

As a result of the type of testimony presented in this chapter, Justice Berger came to the realization that although there had been great changes in the lives of the native people, particularly in the last twenty years, the Dene and Inuvialuit had maintained the values that lay at the core of their cultures, and were striving to maintain these values and their way of life in the modern world of resource development. These values were

> ...ancient and enduring, although the expression of them may change - indeed has changed - from generation to generation (Berger 1977(a) 99).

Even though many Dene and Inuvialuit had adopted southern language and dress, they retained their own way of thinking about the land and environment, their way of life and their own ideas of man's destiny in the north. The Dene, for example, did not see trapping as a job. It was rather, based on the use of the land and its resources (Berger 1977(a)).

The conclusions reached on a grass roots level through the hours of community testimony were further confirmed through the expert witness testimonies of Dr. Peter Usher, Dr. Michael Asch, and Mr. Scott Rushforth which are presented in the next chapter.

V. Confrontation - Expert Witnesses

A. Introduction

The purpose of the use of the following testimonies in this chapter is to challenge further the hypothesis that the native way of life was dead and that acculturation was the only answer. The following witnesses were chosen for this analysis: a) Dr. Michael Asch, an anthropologist acting as a witness for the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Association; b) Mr. Scott Rushforth, also an anthropologist acting on behalf of the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Association, and c) Dr. Peter Usher, a geographer acting as a witness for the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement. These witnesses were chosen because of the expertise on issues pertaining to the social and economic aspects of northern native life, but also because of the emphasis their individual research interests placed on different geographical areas of the Canadian north.

The testimonies and cross-examinations are extensive, therefore, historical perspectives provided by the witnesses are not dealt with in detail. What is at issue is the view of contemporary northern ways of life, held by these three experts, and brought forward during the Commission hearings. The evidence used in this chapter was given during the formal hearings held in Yellowknife.

B. Dr. Michael Asch

The Fallacy of Acculturation

The stated intention of Dr. Asch's testimony was to

> ...provide a balanced view of wage employment as an attempt to counteract the uncritical and enthusiastic way in which the industry sponsored studies have viewed wage labour (1976 vol. 160, 24630).

This was designed to reject the acculturation model so extensively relied upon by industry and government. In this rejection at no time in his testimony did Asch state the Dene "preferred" trapping and hunting to wage employment as a means of obtaining cash. Rather, the point made was that the choices made by the Dene regarding the means by which they obtained cash income were not made in a vacuum, but had to be evaluated within the

context of general social and economic conditions (1976 vol.160.24065,24633,24706).

Asch, emphasizing the dynamic nature of northern native society, felt that just because people articulate with the wage economy and / or cash economy, did not necessarily mean that their institutions had to change along the lines of the dominant society. Asch rejected the model relied on by industry and government because the acculturation framework suggested that

> ...as two societies collide with each other, there is a dominant one and a subservient one, and ultimately the subservient one transforms itself into something akin to the dominant one. What the acculturation model fails to deal with is the question of whether the choices that are being made by people, are the actions of "free" choice, or one where the concern is purely with observed phenomenon only (1974 vol.160.24658).

There is no concern with the underlying processes which have motivated changes in certain directions. The model may be applicable where people voluntarily decide to become an integrated part of the "dominant" society. It must be possible to distinguish between coersion and free choice; the acculturation framework does not provide this possibility.

In Asch's view, technology is not necessarily an indication of change; therefore, the introduction of new tools (such as the repeating rifle) into the traditional economy did not create the shift in the economy. What did affect the change was the creation of a new set of economic relationships. The proposed pipeline construction would result in more extensive changes in these economic relationships, resulting in a further erosion of the traditional economy. The Dene would be substituting southern Canadian values for their own values, not just substituting tools (1976 vol.160.24662).

A further criticism Asch has of the acculturation model was the assumption that acculturation was a one way street. "Once you get on it, you can't get off it" (1977 vol.160.24664). Organizations such as the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories had, for example, been developed out of traditional institutions and values, representing a new integration of these values. These organizations also had come to the realization that within the contemporary context new alliances had to be created and new organizations formed (24666). Furthermore, the choices the Dene made regarding the means by which they obtained cash incomes were not made in isolation of general social and economic conditions. Even when participating in the wage economy, according to Asch, the cash earned was transformed into certain kinds of goods which were shared

just as resources were shared. This process followed the lines of reciprocity characteristic of bush subsistence (24654).

The changes that were proposed by pipeline development appeared to be on such a massive scale that they would have inevitably produced a major re-orientation of the native economy from the self-sufficiency of bush subsistence toward an ever-increasing dependence on the externally-controlled trade goods sector. This appeared to be the aim of government and industry, despite all the rhetoric regarding respect for native ways of life.

The view held by industry was that the social and economic situation in the north was characterized by problems of high unemployment, high welfare usage, alcoholism, poor housing and racial tensions. These problems, furthermore, could not be solved through the traditional way of life, for it was dead. The construction and maintenance of a gas pipeline was, therefore, the only means of providing employment which, of course, was to help to alleviate the immediate social and economic problems of the people of the north. It was felt by industry that the impact of the pipeline itself would be, on balance, beneficial to the northern natives (vol.148,22714,22715). In Asch's view, however

> ...the developments proposed by the petroleum corporations, at least in their present form, will almost certainly exacerbate (the problems) (22675).

Asch went on to state

> ...southern domination of the contemporary situation is itself in a large measure responsible for the creation of most of the problems native people are now facing (22710).

Rejection of Acculturation

The relationship between native people and external agencies was characterized by Asch as a massive intrusion of southern Canadian institutions, values, and powerful personnel into the ongoing social and economic processes of native society, particularly during the previous twenty years. Industry continued this intrusion: their conclusions regarding the contemporary economic and social situations were grossly in error in that they all underestimated the ongoing economic value of bush resource collection activities and greatly overestimated the positive effects of large-scale industrial employment aimed at solving the problems faced by northern natives. If it were indeed true that the economic value of traditional bush collection activities was decreasing, then it would have been

possible that the old ways had died. Yet, according to Asch, "of all the claims made by the industry sponsored studies, this is the most groundless" (vol. 148.22719).

> It must be clear by now that cash income accounts for only a portion of the total economy of native people, and thus they, unlike the stereotypic southern Canadian poor, may have little extra cash but still not be impoverished, for a large portion of their subsistence comes from bush resources (vol. 148.22726).

It appeared, according to Asch's testimony, that employment on a large scale as was envisaged by industry-sponsored studies could well have had at least as many problems created as it was supposed to solve (vol. 148). As a result of accepting this proposed industry deal, applicants had assumed the further erosion of the self-sufficient bush collection sector of the economy in favour of even more dependence on the cash trade goods sector. A further anticipation was that this would have been accomplished through the supposed desire of young native men to have the "security" of wage employment. Asch stated, however, that had the economic situation changed so that fur prices remained very high and wage labour fallen off, many natives would have returned to full-time hunting and trapping (vol. 148.22718). This assumed they would have been capable of doing so, which required the training the traditional ways of life provided. As the process of the hearings progressed, Asch found that there had been no evidence given that would have lead him to re-assess his evaluation that there were a number of negative factors associated with wage employment, and especially large-scale employment schemes such as the pipeline.

> ...I am still as concerned as before that the industry fails to even recognize the potential negative effect of this large scale employment, much less present this Commission with specific proposals on how to alleviate them (vol. 160.24630).

To further attempt to find a solution to this range of problems, the Dene and Inuvialuit had made it clear that a land claims settlement was necessary before development would be allowed to proceed. Industry, however, saw this as a major problem. Asch, in response to industry's view, stated that industry would have to note that among the strongest supporters of the land claim were the well-educated young, which were the very individuals the industry-sponsored studies had suggested were the most alienated from the traditional way of life and the most willing to embrace the western one.

> ...the most important point is that they are not sitting around waiting for us to solve their problems for them but rather have arrived at a proposed direction for a solution themselves. The question is whether or not we will allow them to take that path and let them make it work (vol. 148.22712).

Country Food

Since industrial operations had been a prime factor affecting the Dene and Inuvialuit and the choices that were available to them, it was evident that documentation such as that brought forward by Gemini North could have had a major influence on the perceptions held by industry and government of the traditional economic sector. According to Asch (in a vein similar to that of Usher), the method used by Gemini North in computing the value obtained for bush resources against a value described as total estimated income had been fallacious. While the company did not detail whose income was included in the total estimated income, it was evident from the context that Gemini North had included incomes of both natives and whites in a given community. This was faulty because no whites hunted for a living; therefore, they could not have contributed to the bush resource collection figure (vol. 148). Asch presented a strong challenge to the contention that the bush collection sector of the native economy had limited economic value, and asserted that:

> ...at least as recently as eight years ago, and indeed only three years prior to the statistics upon which Gemini North base their conclusions, the country food production sector of the economy of native people living in the region was of major significance in fulfilling their subsistence needs (vol. 160.24625).

C. Mr. Scott Rushforth

The Fort Franklin Dene

Scott Rushforth was an anthropologist whose area of expertise focussed on the Dene of Fort Franklin. The purpose of his testimony was to document the extent and intensity of land use by the people of Great Bear Lake, and place it within an appropriate cultural context (1976 vol. 148:22632). As in the cases of Asch and Usher, Rushforth rejected the mechanistic acculturation model as it assumed that any future change would have to involve the utilization of the "acquired" culture. Instead, Rushforth felt that if the alternatives existed, the Dene could utilize all of the knowledge, values, and beliefs which had persisted in forming an economy which was compatible with those beliefs and through which they would be able to obtain the cash they needed (vol. 160).

Rushforth[16] supported the idea that simply because the Dene had adopted particular

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[16]The testimony given by Rushforth is used extensively in his article "Country

western beliefs and values, this did not mean they had rejected traditional cultural values and traditional institutions. In spite of changes such as the white education system, the use of english, freight coming into Fort Franklin, low-income housing and the increase of wage labour the Dene retained many of their traditional values:

> When organizing their way of living, the Bear Lake people rely, for the most part, upon their own cultural knowledge and their own values, not those of white society (vol.148.22662).

This also included the retention of traditional subsistence activities. Rushforth estimated the total investment for proper outfitting would have been in excess of $1800. This investment was not, however, made every year because their equipment was good a number of years. The cost of capital goods had obviously been high which had indicated to Rushforth the importance of a bush-oriented lifestyle to the Dene, since they had been willing to make that size of investment. In addition, this supported the contention that many Dene had viewed wage labour as a means of acquiring needed tools - not as a permanent alternative to traditional land-use activities. Furthermore, those men who had remained in Fort Franklin working on a full-time basis and would often leave the community on weekends and trap on a part-time basis (Rushforth 1978:33).

Rushforth found during the course of his research that the number of men who trapped each year had remained relatively constant, which was important in light of the fact that the number of fur-bearing animals harvested from 1972-1975 had decreased as a result of low fur prices, thereby:

> ...(causing) Bear Lake men to put less effort into trapping...tending not to return to the bush for January and February after spending Christmans in Fort Franklin. That the same number of men nevertheless continue to trap is indicative of the values attached to participation in bush-oriented activities (1978:38).

There had also been a significant increase in the number of men participating in caribou hunting. In regard to the decline in the number of men going beaver hunting in the spring, Rushforth noted that those who did not go took part in other traditional land-use activities. As well, fishing remained a dominant activity among Bear Lake Men, leading to Rushforth's statement that:

> ...there has been no general or over-all decrease in the numbers of Bear Lake men participating in traditional land-use activities. Based upon the information I collected, Bear Lake people are simply not abandoning their traditional means

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[18](cont'd) Food" in **Dene Nation:Colony Within**. This article is used here, in conjunction with his testimony.

of making a living (1976 vol.148:22646; 1978:39).

Country Food

The Dene worked in the bush not only because they derived part of their income from bush subsistence, but also because resource harvesting represented a link in their cultural tradition to a way of life. This traditional lifestyle was characterized by industrious activity and the acquisition of knowledge through bush experience (vol.148:22668;vol.160:24655). Status was achieved from traditional values as opposed to any western work ethic. Part-time trapping and hunting were an important to the Dene as full-time pursuits, thereby retaining an attachment to a bush-oriented lifestyle. Rushforth, as did Usher and Asch, took issue with Gemini North's perception of the value of bush resources:

> Gemini North used an exchange value... what one Bear Laker would sell caribou meat to another Bear Laker...I believe that's the figure they used in assigning a dollar value to caribou meat...and I think the best criticism of that is provided by their own report where they way that this substantially underestimates the value of such local food resources (vol.148:22654).

Local exchange value was, furthermore, not a proper way of assigning a dollar value to income from the land since it did not take into account the value of social exchange, inextricably bound to traditional subsistence activities. Social exchanges were based on kinship and other social relationships: they were not predicated on the basis of supply and demand:

> ...measuring the value of caribou hunting according to the dollars per pound of caribou might obscure part of the true value and motivations for caribou hunting by native peoples. Anthropologists have long known that measuring the utility of activities in other cultures by western dollars is less than satisfactory (vol.148:22651).

This point was crucial since industry was basing its views of development on reports such as that prepared by Gemini North. As a percentage of their total income, Rushforth stated that the Dene actually derived less of their livelihood from the land than in the past. This was not, however, the choice of the Dene but resulted from previous development activities on the part of southern interests. Rushforth found it difficult, therefore, to accept the view of industry and government that the burden of truth regarding the existence of the traditional economy lay with the Dene:

> Should representatives of the same sociocultural system which introduced change to Dene society now cite the existence of those conditions as proof for the need for additional change? (vol. 148 22664).

It was obvious, in Rushforth's view, that by measuring the utility of traditional land-use activities in dollar terms only it was possible to miss or obscure many of the "subjective preferences" or values the people associated with such activities (1978 45). An example of subjective preferences mentioned by Rushforth in his testimony was the family organization among the Dene. In terms of the underlying values and the types of social principles which the Dene used in their organization, this structuring was exactly the same as in the past. Regarding traditional forms of leadership, Rushforth stated that traditional methods of decision-making were still in existence, and played a substantial role in the daily lives of the Dene - despite observable changes

> ...I would say that traditional forms of leadership, traditional forms of "political decision-making" still exist at Bear Lake and play a very substantial role in their daily lives. Of course, the Indian Brotherhood did not exist 200 years ago, ergo there have been changes. But nonetheless, the forms of leadership and decision-making which existed, in my opinion, based upon my ethnographic field work...in the past continues to exist nowadays (vol. 160 24692).

Rejection of Acculturation

Rushforth stated that the position he wished to defend at the Inquiry was that although the Dene had incorporated certain western institutions, values and beliefs, there was still in existence an underlying core which he saw clearly articulated at Bear Lake, of traditional knowledge systems which persisted and influenced their way of life. In addition, and most importantly, those western values which had been incorporated had, in fact, been modified to some extent to fit the traditional system. As an example of this modification, Rushforth used Asch's testimony regarding the way in which wages obtained through wage labour were converted to food and shared throughout the community of Wrigley - by traditional means (vol. 160 24699).

Among the Dene of the Northwest Territories, Rushforth felt there was a continuity of tradition in facing new problems brought by development activities, which was dictated by common-sense. This "common-sense" directed that western values be modified to fit the traditional system and be compatible with traditional pursuits. It was essential to note that many Bear Lake men viewed wage labour as a means, not an end.

Rushforth was not advocating a "back to the bush, back to the teepee" way of life, but was answering a challenge that had been put forward by government and industry:

> Both the testimony of Dr. Asch and my testimony was written in response to positions which the gas companies set forth, and I think... the native people in the north are facing certain problems. In addition, they said native traditional institutions are dead, the traditional way of life is dead, people are no longer deriving a significant amount of income from the land, therefore we have to seek western solutions to those problems...what we're suggesting is that those institutions are not dead, that they still survive although changed, and that we think there is every reason to believe that those institutions provide the means for the Dene to solve their own problems (vol. 160:24747).

D. Dr. Peter Usher

Metropolis-Hinterland

Usher held the view in the mid-1960's that the bush economy was dying. Under cross-examination during the Inquiry process, when asked for a justification for the dramatic shift in his opinion, Usher stated:

> When I think of my experience in that many years, I realize that a lot of things that we took for granted in the early 60's as being, "Well, that's the way life is and those obstacles can't be overcome," alot of us think now, "Why shouldn't they be? There's no reason for those obstacles not to be overcome."
>
> That, I think, is a kind of general change in social thought in our own society. Native people's perception of these resources hasn't changed, but ours certainly is beginning to...(vol. 168:26105).

Usher continued along the line that anthropologists and other professionals were changing their views, but it appeared that industry, in the socio-economic impact assessments, had not yet begun the shift. What these studies were lacking, according to Usher, was information pertaining to social relations, family and community life, political development and control, cultural values, and general social wellbeing (vol. 140). Government and industry had expected researchers to evaluate these variables in isolation from each other, however:

> ...it is the cumulative effect which is important not only on particular components of the environment or the economy or the society, but the total impact on the whole system of human and natural life (vol. 120:21416).

The message the Dene and Inuvialuit received from assessments such as those conducted by Gemini North was clear: their homes, health, jobs, hunting and travelling gear, and recreation all had been given to them by the south. The implication Usher had drawn was that if the south pulled-out because development had been stopped, the native people

would be doomed. This was supported in government policy statements, in that all levels of government had made it clear that northern development was a function of national policy. Usher continued to express pessimism regarding the outcome of the development issue at hand:

> It is a fact that never in the history of northern development have the objections of local people or the scientific determination of adverse and unavoidable yet negative effects, forced a permanent halt to any project to which the government has committed itself or encouraged private interests to undertake as a matter of policy (vol.140:21424).

To explain the processes of economic development and change that had occurred among the Dene and Inuvialuit of northern Canada, Usher rejected the acculturation framework on the basis that the model did not attempt to explain how, and why, culture contact occurred, why it took a particular form, and what external forces affected it. In addition, this model tended to concentrate on the external features of a culture: dependency and its root causes were not examined. The model was, therefore, inadequate for the purposes necessary to explain the northern socio-economic situation. Usher instead relied on the metropolis-hinterland model since, in his view, it provided for the consideration and measurement of cultural change. The model examined peoples values, core beliefs and social rules that comprised their world view: "the screen through which they interpret information and perception" (vol.166:25890-25891). The basic premise of the metropolis-hinterland model was as follows: if the metropolis has nothing to offer the hinterland, it can impose its will only by force. On the other hand, if the material conditions of life between the two are vastly different, the alternate strategy is to degrade the traditional economy, create new wants, then offer to fill those wants. The autonomous life of the hinterland is then destroyed, and it becomes dependent upon the metropolis (vol.167:25912):

> In a collective sense...whites and natives were most certainly not co-equal. It was...the white man who came north, not the native who went south. It was the white man who set the terms of trade and sought to impose his religious and civic convictions upon the native, not the other way around. The individual white man, dependent on the native, could always return south, thus making his dependency both voluntary and temporary. Native people, on the other hand, became dependent in their own homeland, their society and economy so transformed that although seemingly independent as individuals, they had become highly dependent as a people (vol.167:25897).

It would appear that Usher was in agreement with industry and federal perceptions of the way of life of the Dene and Inuvialuit. It will be seen, however, that this was not the case.

Land-use

According to Usher (mid-1970's) it was easy for the casual observer to assume that the old ways were dead and with them native involvement with the land, since some of these traditional ways were no longer visibly in existence. History had shown, however, that the Inuvialuit dependence on the land had both a past and a future, and dependence on the land was both economic and cultural (vol. 166). This situation did not conform to the conventional wisdom that the old way of life was gradually dying out, and the evidence suggested that the traditional economy was not a dying one, and did not need to become one. This perception appeared to have evolved from the decline in traditional land-use activities over the previous decade. This decline, however, resulted from the economic crises in the fur trade and was described by Usher as "an involuntary retreat, rather than a preference for settlement living and steady employment (vol. 166:35837). This shift to town life was usually interpreted as an expression by the Inuvialuit of their desire to "get off the land". Many people, however, had purposely chosen not to relocate into the larger settlements, and virtually none had chosen to move permanently to another geographical environment (vol. 168).:

> There is apparently a powerful commitment to the Arctic environment and community as a homeland despite changing ideas about how to live in it (vol. 166:25833).

In addition:

> Those who do not now live on the land, who work and live in the settlements, still regard the land as an essential part of their lives (vol. 166:25826).

Northern natives had indeed adjusted their patterns of traditional resource use to overcome the problems change had created. However, this "adjustment" would have to take time, since too rapid a change could destroy the system:

> I am not suggesting that everybody wants to trap and hunt or that they should. I am suggesting that the progressive erosion of that way of life, the rewards it offers and the ability to participate in it can reach a point where it no longer makes sense to talk about free choice (vol. 166:25853).

Life on the land, dependence on traditional skills, knowledge of the environment, and reliance on the family were the traditional values in the western Arctic during the first half of the twentieth century. These were the essence of what was, and in many ways remained, the real native way of life. According to Usher, there existed a viable native society possessing its own territory, its own culture, and its own social and economic

heritage.

> That society exists not as a withered reflection of the past, not as a museum piece, but as a living collectivity capable of solving its own problems and of planning and implementing its own future (vol. 167:25921).

Usher felt that native people had become superfluous to the operations of the industrial sector in their own land. As a result of this, if development proceeded on the course charted, unabated, the next ten years would see native northerners effectively separated from their traditional land base. They would be rendered a political minority in their own territory (vol. 167:25910,25920).

Country Food and Acculturation

Returning to a theme earlier expressed by Rushforth, Usher found that entangled in this "mesh" of industry and government development of the north and the calculation of the value of bush resources was the perception of modern industrial society that failed to distinguish between people's livelihoods and their ways of life. It was usually assumed that compensation for the loss of livelihood was sufficient for the loss of the way of life as well. The idea was that the traditional sector was to be replaced by full-time wage employment, away from the home community, and by a career type of employment which precluded effective participation in the traditional sector. All of this was assumed by industry and government to be necessary, as it coincided with their belief that the traditional sectors of the northern economy were dead. According to Usher, however, the traditional sector was very much alive, and was using aspects of wage employment that were beneficial to the northern way of life:

> ...it is not a matter of employment or hunting, it is employment and hunting so long as they are compatible because employment can provide the necessary cash inputs to successful hunting and trapping. Employment also increases in most instances, the standard of living which would be derived from hunting and trapping alone (1976 vol. 166:25853).

If native people were allowed to choose such jobs or careers as they felt the need to do so, casual employment could be a useful source of income for those who needed it. It could also be a temporary expedient while developing a more balanced and self-sufficient locally-based and controlled economy, rather than a permanent goal for the future. (vol. 167:25931). From an economic point of view, many Inuvialuit families found it necessary to assume wage employment, even though they would have preferred to live on

the land. Many left jobs once they had earned enough for some specific purpose. Jobs were not valued for their own sake, but as temporary strategies (vol.166:25842). Hunting as an expression of cultural identity, was of profound importance to the Inuvialuit and was practised even when it was considered uneconomic to do so. Some hunters would spend only weekends and holidays to get their entire years supply of meat and, in fact, there were no accurate measures of participation in the traditional sector (vol.166:25822,25825;vol.167:25994,25997,26007).

Investigators such as Gemini North had failed, in Usher's view, to appreciate the full value of country food. This lack of awareness had led to serious underestimates of the contributions made by traditional activity to the total regional economy, leading to conclusions that some native communities were without a viable economic base. The use of cash equivalent figures did not and could not indicate the value of hunting as a social or cultural activity, or as a way of life. In addition, it was difficult to determine the availability of meat sources due to short-term, cyclical variations as well as long-term shifts in many boreal and Arctic species. Therefore, general inferences from occasional statistics were extremely risky. Even where the harvest was known, the question was raised as to which part of it was potentially for human use, or was actually used. There was another difficulty in analyses of this nature, since converting the number of animals to their total edible weight was problematic. Edible weight varied from place to place with cultural preference and hunting practises, therefore, only existing literature on weight conversions could be used as a rough guide (vol.166:25810-25811). Cash equivalent figures also did not indicate the value of the environment to the native hunter. Using, or trying to use, this method of determining the value of bush resources also indicated:

> ...the cultural differences in comparing -- in ascribing value to certain parts of the meat, because what you might think is a wonderful cut of meat is what somebody in one of the villages may say, "Well, that's all right, but I much prefer the head or the eyeball or something like that". Now you don't pay much for eyeballs in the store down south. But people here think they're really good...(vol.167:25985).

There is no satisfactory substitute for country food. Hence, anything which might have been substitued for it entailed an absolute loss of welfare for native people of "incalculable proportions" (vol.167:25816). Usher relied on pricing northern meat by comparing it to similar cuts of meat in a northern store. This raised the price, or value, of the meat considerably because the more expensive cuts of meat were sold in the store -

not sides of beef. Usher used the cuts of meat that were usually available in the store, and found that the value of country food to the northern native was essential.

> ...if on a given day a person doesn't have any meat to eat because they haven't managed to get anything from the bush, and if they want to eat meat then they're going to go to the store and they're going to buy the cuts that are available and those are the prices, then that is the substitution cost...the head of the household or whatever, goes out on a job that fails to allow him to supply his family well enough, then no matter how much money he earns, he winds up in the hole because his family spent it all at the store on food (vol. 167, 25998).

According to Usher, this substitution method was the only valid way to go because if there were not any caribou then it would be necessary to go into a store and buy some beef. Taking the price of various cuts of meat would mean that the replacement value of the substitute was based on the cuts that people would actually eat off the caribou.

> In other words, I don't think you can compare it to hamburger. You have to compare it...to the superior cuts of meat that are sold in the store (vol. 167, 25982-25983).

Acculturation and Land Claims

Given the fact there was a basic difference in perception about the existence of the traditional sector, there would, according to Usher, have to be a land claims settlement before there was a pipeline. However, any solution that paid native people off for their land and then sought to assimilate them into southern society with no special rights or guarantees was not a solution at all. What was necessary was a settlement that encompassed a fundamental re-ordering of the relationships between native northern society and the Canadian nation.

> There must be a land claims settlement of far-reaching proportions. It must be consistent with the maintenance of the traditional economy and native community life. The small communities are the hearth of the native way of life and if their viability and autonomy is broken, then I fear the future of native society itself is grim, for then no native person will have any place he can truly call home. There must be economic insulation from the distorting and inflationary effects of massive, rapid construction... There must be continuing native input and control over development activity. It cannot cease the day this, or any other Inquiry, stops sitting. It must involve continuing negotiating power with all relevant parties... (vol. 167, 25932-25933).

Usher rejected former land claims settlements that involved the selection of land and parcelling it out. The entire idea of putting boundaries on land was alien to the way native people perceived the land the use they made of it. There were distinct differences in perception regarding ownership of the land which, according to Usher, really came

down to "control" of the land (vol. 168.26065,26070). Ownership may have been necessary, but was certainly not a sufficient condition to ensure the objectives required by native northerners.

A deep-rooted social and cultural reliance on the land existed. It was more than just a food source or cash, but was the source of security and sense of well-being. The land had sustained the natives of the north since "time immemorial" and, if properly cared for, always would. It was not simply that the natives felt the land belonged to them, but that they belonged to the land. There was a commitment to life on the land, which, in small communities, was bound up with a commitment to a particular social order and way of life, collectively enjoyed by all in the social group. There was a communal sense of ownership in the hunting and trapping areas

> The survival of communities is seen to depend on the integrity of the lands in which the community has an interest (vol. 166.25830).

It is obvious that hunting and trapping were not just occupations. They were collective endeavours and, therefore, illustrated a thriving way of life.

Since the traditional sector of the northern economy was indeed not dead, native people would have to be given the economic and political means to guarantee their own survival. There was a widespread view among native people in the western Arctic, according to Usher, that government and industry's conception of consultation was to inform people of pre-existing plans and suggest ways in which the natives could adapt to them (vol. 140.21420). To avoid any further steps in this direction, a land claims settlement would be required.

E. Disconfirmation

It is evident, based on these testimonies, that industry and government perceptions regarding land-use activities and the value of country food were not accurate. The evidence presented by Asch, Rushforth, and Usher disconfirmed the hypothesis used by Gemini North and Hobart that acculturation was the only possibility left, if the Dene and Inuvialuit were to survive.

It became clear that the northern natives were not awaiting eagerly massive wage employment and the subsequent influx of cash. Dene and Inuvialuit social and cultural values had remained the core of their societies, evidenced through mechanisms such as

the maintenance of sharing. The land, furthermore, remained central in the native way of life: the land was loved - it was not a commodity to be exploited for monetary gain. Through Asch's testimony, the relationship to the land was articulated clearly: This relationship enabled the native northerners to know who they are as a people, and it was the one thing they made plain they wanted to retain. The argument was not of traditional way of life in an aboriginal sense, but an argument of the creative experience which native people had of themselves. Therefore, in that sense of developing their own insitutions there was a definite relationship between their sense of themselves and their desire to forge their own lives (Asch vol. 160 24650-24651), which was centered around a bush subsistence. It was stated that there had been a change in the organization of production, particularly with respect to the cash sector of the economy, which occurred with the introduction of family allowance payments directed to family heads. However, it was emphasized by Asch that without the means to obtain modern hunting equipment, including rifles and snowmobiles, it would have been virtually impossible for native people to continue to pursue their traditional land-based subsistence activity in the contemporary situation, because in many instances they were located in areas which were removed from traditional hunting grounds. It was, therefore, the very existence of modern technology which enabled the Dene to cope with the disadvantages presented them by the activities of southern society (Asch vol. 160 24637-24681):

> ...the point is clear, far from being mere indicators of 'precipitous acculturation', in terms of western technology adopted by Dene may, in fact, be one of the means by which they continue to maintain their traditional way of life in the new and trying circumstances we have presented to them (vol. 160 24640).

During the course of the community hearings, the Dene and Inuvialuit stated repeatedly that they want to maintain their cultural traditions. If, according to Asch and Rushforth, industry, government, northern natives and supporters could all agree that native institutions, native values and beliefs were surviving, the important issue would have become one of deriving an income source which would not destroy further these native institutions (Asch vol. 148 22701; Rushforth vol. 160 24656-24657).

F. Berger and the Refutation

Following his review of the testimonies given by expert witnesses, Justice Berger concluded that as far as the native people's expression of preferences is concerned, their perceptions of the world of wage employment have changed since the 1960's when, due to a number of factors, natives of the north were strongly supportive of wage employment. Their willingness to renounce native ways for white ways, which anthropologists and other social scientists observed in the sixties, no longer exists (Berger 1977(b): 110). They are not rejecting wage employment altogether, but are trying to secure meaningful and productive ways of life for the younger population of the north.

The viability of the northern native economy, which is based on renewable resource development, must rely on its being largely apart, both geographically and in orientation, from the operations of the non-renewable resource sector. If the renewable sector is allowed to thrive, the movement of native people between the two sectors will be minimized, thereby reducing tension between them. All native people will have to choose on which economic mode to place primary reliance, and the choice will not be an easy one.

> The task of developing the renewable resource sector will not be easy, either for native people or for governments. Both the history of failure and the potential for future failure must be overcome. But the evidence before this Inquiry leads me to the conclusion that, if native people are to be full citizens and participants in the North of tomorrow, it can and must be done (Berger 1977(b)43).

Berger enphasizes that overlapping or mixed economic forms are now integral to the native economy. For example, without modern technology, native northerners would find it virtually impossible to continue their traditional land-based activities in the contemporary situation.

> The evidence heard at the Inquiry has led me to conclude that the selective adoption of items of western technology by the Dene and Inuit is, in fact one of the most important means by which they continue to maintain their traditional way of life (1977(b): 110).

The question remaining was: how would government and industry react to the disconfirmation of the hypothesis under which they had been labouring?

VI. Aftermath

A. The Federal Aftermath

Justice Berger closed the record on the Mackenzie Valley after 200 hearing days on November 12, 1976. The issues were indeed profound, and confounding, in that different views of the North could be distinguished by the emphasis placed on the achievement of industrial development at the frontier - or the cost of that development. The aftermath of the Inquiry would tell Canadians what kind of country Canada was and what kind of people Canadians were. In Berger's words, the Inquiry became a "consciousness-raising exercise and a milestone in the political development of the North itself" (Berger 1977(a) 29;Bregha 1979 117;Gray 1979 89). Berger valued what the people of the north had to say:

> ...in those villages, when people hear about what is said in reports...I suppose, they have a tendency to say to me "Well, why are you listening to them? What about us? We're here! We're the people who know, because it's our life and we're doing these things daily"...these people in the villages might say to themselves:
>
> "Well, why is he sitting there listening to all of that when he has already been here? We've all talked - hundreds of us".
>
> That's in a sense the kind of frustration that those people must feel when they see us seeking to quantify, assess their life, their lifestyle, their aspirations as if we were cataloguing something that could be catalogued (Berger vol.157:24112).

He also felt strongly, if the above is an indication, about the pride the Dene and Inuvialuit had for their culture and he was sensitive to their fears regarding the possibility of pipeline development and forced acculturation.

The first volume of the Report of the Berger Commission was tabled in the House of Commons on May 9, 1977 by the Honourable Warren Allmand. In constrast to the James Bay Hydro Project and the Quebec government, the Berger Inquiry recognized the need to establish the effect development would have on the people of the north - before the fact. What the Liberal government appeared not to expect was the recommendation that a ten-year moratorium be put on the pipeline development based on Berger's view that:

> Because the native people of the North believe the pipeline and developments that will follow it will undermine their use of the land and indelibly shape the future of their lives in a way that is not of their choosing, they insist that, before any such development takes place, their right to their land and their right to self-determination as a people must be recognized. They have always held these beliefs, but their articulation of them has seldom been heard or

understood (Berger 1977(a): 170).

Ownership and control of the land itself was the only means of safeguarding the Dene and Inuvialuit ways of life.

According to the New Democratic Party there was no need to be disconcerted about this recommendation since Berger was not suggesting that the clock of history be turned back, nor was he burying his head in history. In the view of Broadbent, Berger was

> ...simply saying to Canadians "let's take care"... The native people of Canada...are not planning for a no-change society. They know that change will come, that history marches on. What they are asking for through Mr. Justice Berger's report is a crucial part in the decision-making that is going to affect their lives (Hansard 1977: 5630).

Broadbent then moved that the House accept the principle recommendation of the Berger Report (that no pipeline be built in the Mackenzie Valley for at least ten years) (Hansard 1977:5629). The motion was defeated.

The National Energy Board

The National Energy Board of Canada (NEB) began its assessment of the proposed pipeline developments, which was to be compared with that of the Berger Inquiry. Prior to the Berger Commission, the NEB had confined its decisions and recommendations to gas availability and transportation feasibility. Following Berger's "redefinition" of impact assessment, however, the NEB came to consider also the socio-economic view of pipeline development (Dacks 1981). Following many hours of deliberations, the National Energy Board reached a number of conclusions. It was felt the Applicants had generally overstated the benefits expected to be derived from the project, and understated the potential for adverse impacts. While the Dene and Inuvialuit could participate in some of the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs during the construction phase of the pipeline, generally the construction would have negative effects since it would:

> ...frustrate (the Dene) attempt to develop their own institutions based on a renewable resource economy and the operations phase would have little to offer the Dene (National Energy Board 1977(a): 144).

The Board felt that impacts from the construction phase of the pipeline would be a negative influence on the social fabric of the north.

Traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities were becoming less important, in the view of the Board, only in terms of the total generation of cash income in the region.

These activities were still very important to the native people in terms of income, both cash and kind, particularly in the smaller, predominantly native communities. The pipeline and related developments would have considerable potential for diverting native people away from the traditional sector. In addition, it was felt there would, in all likelihood, be adverse impacts on hunting and trapping in areas surrounding the larger centres because of increased development activities and in-migration.

> For the individual native Northerner, the situation seems to be one of turmoil caused by fear of further white encroachment, a striving to retain the essentials of a life close to the land... a difficulty in adapting to modern technology yet more and more exposed to it, and, at the same time, a search for radical changes in political institutions to protect and safeguard native culture and ways of living. It is therefore not surprising that the added problems relating to the possible construction of a pipeline only confound an already confused situation (National Energy Board 1977(b):189-190).

Native people and the traditional sector would gain little, if anything, from the project. If the native northerner s fears of pipeline impact were justified, they would suffer social disruption which could permanently damage their culture and way of life (1977(b)).

In the time period 1976-1979, the total acceptance of the acculturation framework by government and industry was undergoing extensive revision - stemming from the process of the Berger Commission. Efforts were underway to accommodate "dual economies", "dual societies", and development in Canada s north. The realization had, it will be seen, become clear that the Dene had not been acculturated.

The Federal Government

In the 1976-77 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Annual Report, it was emphasized that the challenge in the development of a national northern energy policy was the pacing of development, important so the lifestyle of northern people or the natural environment would not be destroyed. The most careful planning would have to be carried out in the area of oil and gas exploration and possible pipeline construction, since problems here were the most acute and complex (DIAND 1977:54,55). In addition to planning in the area of petroleum development, the Indian and Eskimo Affairs program tried to assist the northern native population in participatory decision-making, and in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs designed to achieve native cultural, social and economic aspirations within Canadian

society. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) viewed this as part of the "continuing change in the Department's role from one of control and direction to one of support..." (DIAND 1977:28). In the pages of Hansard, however, this view was not in immediate evidence. Following the release of the National Energy Board report, some Liberal members felt that both Berger and the NEB report signified the "death knell" for the people of the Mackenzie Valley. Both reports were said to be "far from honest and far from objective, resulting in feelings of bewilderment and despair among all residents of the Valley" (Hansard 1977:8110,8122). It was also postulated that the hearings were negatively influenced by outsiders. According to member Doug Neil:

> We were told time and again that the report does not represent the true feelings of the majority of the native people, but expresses the views, given through the mouths of native people appearing before the commission, of radical white advisors from the south. One name mentioned frequently was Mel Watkins, known to many as the former leader of the Waffle party. His views differ greatly from the views of the vast majority of Canadians and were so radical that the party to my left (NDP) could not live with him (Hansard 1977:8110).

The Minister of DIAND did not, however, agree with this perception of the Berger Commission process, and recognized the importance of the traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing and trapping to the native economy. Allmand stressed his agreement, as Minister, with this issue and related questions of surface land use and environmental protection (Hansard 1977:5646). This recognition, Allmand hoped, would foster a partnership of interests between government and the native peoples, and further stated that the native people of the north must have freedom and latitude in making their own choices about how they wished to operate their affairs (Hansard 1977:5645,5646).

The former leader of the New Democratic Party, T.C. Douglas, maintained that this pipeline was not needed as it possessed no economic benefits for Canadians. Much political rhetoric was taking place during this time period, however, there was evidence that some members were no longer willing to accept the model of acculturation supported in past years:

> DIAND has adopted a joint working relationship with Indian leaders... organizations and people. This has the endorsement of cabinet and it is, at least, a beginning and a recognition of the need to involve Indian people in initiating policies and planning programs which will ultimately affect their lives (Hansard 1977:7011).

Firth found that even though Euro-Canadian society had not taken native culture seriously in the past, this situation was changing - not as fast as some would like, but changing

nevertheless. The Liberal party also appeared to recognize that while most had welcomed the quickening pace of development, it had become increasingly evident that there was a need to ensure that the pace of such development was in harmony with nature and with the people who lived in the development area. The challenge was to diversify the approach to socio-economic development to accommodate both "new ways" and traditional pursuits (Hansard 1977:7005,8032).

> Many in the North are trying to live in what may be termed the new style. Some become caught in a pay cheque to pay cheque existence and sometimes it is a no pay cheque to no pay cheque existence for a long time. A self-employed trapper might not see a pay cheque for a few years, but he would be willing to make a living at trapping if he had good equipment, good transportation whether it be by motorized toboggan or by dogteam - good water transportation equipment... If he had all these things, he would be able to take alot of food supplies from the land...(Hansard 1977:7006).

In 1978[17] the annual report of DIAND emphasized that over the year, there had been a concentration of effort by the federal government on the development of Indian self-government based on their aspirations to be responsible for their own social, economic, cultural and political development. The principal guidance for the Northern Affairs Program in 1978-79 continued to be the national objectives for the North, established by the federal government in 1972. These objectives called for provision for a higher standard of living and quality of northern life, equality of opportunity for northern residents, protection of the northern environment with due consideration to economic and social development, and meaningful progress toward self-government in the northern territories (DIAND 1979:26,50). In addition, an economic conference was convened in Hay River in May of 1978 by Hugh Faulkner. The conference was designed to give northerners an opportunity to present the northern point of view on economic prospects for the Northwest Territories (DIAND 1979:53). Over 300 representataives from communities, associations, and every segment of the Northwest Territories economy attended. According to Faulkner, the time had come for "development for the north - not of the north." During this conference, it was made clear by the Dene Nation that it was not opposed entirely to development of the north, but instead saw development in a different way:

> Rather than short term economic development, which benefits people in a

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[17]At the time of publication, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was under the auspices of a new minister - the Honourable J. Hugh Faulkner.

> limited way for one or two years, the Dene want to see human and renewable resource development which provides benefits for 50 or 100 years - Francois Paulette, Representative of the Dene Nation (Proceedings 1978:11).

Native claims were to be settled as quickly as possible since, only when these claims were settled, would it be possible to plan for the North's future. A major shift in the view of small-business was emphasized at this conference, in that support for the settlement of land claims was put forward in order to allow participation in traditional lifestyles, participation in the wage economy, or participation in both. According to Faulkner, the conference provided the impetus needed to focus on developing a balanced economy in the North (Faulkner 1978:1). The issue was not as clear cut for the natives attending the conference, as the following quote suggests:

> There is a gap in communication between the people who originate the ideas for economic development and the native people who actually carry out the development... The Inuvialuit have wound up with the "shiny stuff"... not the things they really needed. Although the differences of cultures have been recognized, the responsibility and job to be done in the North still hasn't been recognized... But while Inuvialuit want to learn how to use a million dollars, they want to keep their own way of life and try to find a balance - Jens Lyberth, President, Inuvialuit Development Corporation (Proceedings 1978:17).

The convening of the conference was, however, evidence in a shift in the attitude held by the federal government to the concept of traditional native sectors of northern society. The government appeared to be trying to faciliate discussions, rather than freely impose its will upon the people of the north.

This period of time was confusing and complex in the House of Commons, as it was to all Canadians. It was marked by a lack of clear policy direction or initiatives. For example, Eric Nielsen addressed the House on this particular issue, stating:

> ...we are confronted with a government which is running the north like a colony, and has known, for at least a decade, that the society and the economy of that region were bound to be profoundly affected by a pipeline possibility...(they) continued by indicating that despite that warning, and despite Ottawa's absolute jurisdiction, we have to make the decision as to whether there should be a pipeline in principle, without a northern energy policy, without a northern development policy, and without any clear or consistent approach to native rights or northern ecology.

Harvey Andre pointed out the various ministers were stating differing positions on pipeline development:

> One stated that no pipeline can be built until land claims are settled. Another stated that land claims settlements are quite a separate question and that one does not necessarily have to preceed the other... The way which has been used to arrive at a decision is incredibly complex and bizarre...(Hansard 1978:3021).

It was emphasized by some members that northern natives would face many social problems should the pipeline be built. Communities would experience high unemployment, a loss of real income, increased alcohol and drug abuse, family breakdown, and increases in crime (Hansard 1978 3025). Subsequently, it was recognized by the Minister of DIAND that concerns regarding the potential for serious disruption of the the traditional lifestyle and economy were real, as were concerns regarding the effect on claim settlements should development proceed. These questions were considered challenges by the federal government, to be met if the pipeline project was to benefit the north (Hansard 1978 2842).

A divergent viewpoint was presented by then Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Honourable Alistair Gillespie. His claim was that by 1985, Canada would be experiencing vast energy shortages and accompanying acceleration of efforts to conserve and develop non-renewable energy supplies, if pipeline development was not carried out

> More often than not, we are using more oil than we are discovering. More often than not, at the end of the year there is less oil available than there was at the beginning of the year...Quite early this will lead the Western world to an oil crunch, and that crunch may not be far away. Estimates indicate it could occur about 1985, give or take a year or two (Hansard 1978 3015).

It is evident the minister was not concerned with the social issues involved in potential pipeline development, least of all with the traditional sectors of the native economy and how pipeline development would affect these sectors.

Native Claims

At this time, a review of the federal claims policy was undertaken to determine its effectiveness. Neither the natives nor the federal government were satisfied with the progress that was being made on specific claims. Resulting, in part from this dissatisfaction, a joint Cabinet / National Indian Brotherhood Committee was established in April of 1975. The purpose of the joint committee was to provide a basis for continuing consultation between Cabinet Ministers and the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) on major Indian policy issues and problems. One Committee recommendation, which was approved by Cabinet in December of 1975, resulted in the creation of a Joint Sub-Committee on Indian Rights and Claims. Things proceeded in March, 1977, with the establishment of a

Canadian Indian Rights Commission under the direction of the Joint Sub-Committee.[18] In addition, the framework for negotiating comprehensive claims was reviewed and ultimately re-affirmed.[19]

In the North, the area affected by the five comprehensive claims put forward to the federal government covered the Alaska-Yukon border in the west to Davis Strait in the east, and encompassed all of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. An underlying element in all of these claims, according to the federal government, was a call for change in existing economic, social and political structures. This change was to lay the foundations for a new and equitable relationship between native and non-native northerners, thereby providing a framework for the way in which the North, its lands and resources were used, conserved, developed, and lived in (DIAND 1978(b):9). According to Faulkner:

> I fully recognize that northern claims...have to do with more than land and cash...The claims reflect the legitimate desire of native people to establish for themselves a more effective role in northern society and northern institutions; they are an attempt by people who have been virtually powerless to gain effective control of their lives. The federal government is in full sympathy with these aspirations (Faulkner 1978: 2845).

This viewpoint was further emphasized in the House by T.C. Douglas. The position of the New Democratic Party on issues stemming from acculturation was articulated clearly by Douglas in the following statement:

> ...probably the blackest page in the history of this country is our treatment of native people. We robbed them of their land, we deceived them and we made promises to them which we have not kept. ...Our forefathers might have been excused... by virtue of the fact that they did not realize the enormity of the crime which was being perpetrated. However, we in this parliament cannot claim ignorance. We know what has happened, and we know what will happen again if the government does not put its foot down and say it will come to an agreement with these people (Hansard 1978:4144).

The Federal Shift

In August of 1977, the Prime Minister announced the appointment of the Honourable Charles M. Drury as Special Representative for Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories. Drury's mandate, in part, was to:

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[18]The Commission was to aid in the development of an inventory and system of classification for existing claims of status Indians, and to assist the Joint Committee in the resolution of issues of concern to the federal government and status Indian people.

[19] One of the main purposes of the comprehensive claims negotiation process was to translate the concept of aboriginal rights into concrete and lasting benefits in the context of contemporary society (DIAND 1980:4,5,7).

> ...conduct a systematic consultation with recognized leaders of the Territorial Government, northern communities and native groups about specific measures for modifying and improving the existing structures, institutions and systems of government in the Northwest Territories, with a view to extending representative, responsive and effective government to all parts of the Territories and at the same time accommodating the legitimate interests of all groups in northern society, beginning with those of the Indian, Inuit and Metis...(Office of the Prime Minister Press Release 1977:2).

Part of these legitimate interests included the coordination of the mandate with the issue of land claims.

The federal government had, following the Berger Commission, concluded that the time had come to take further steps in the direction of self-government for the north. Important to the Dene and Inuvialuit, however, was the concern on the part of the government that native peoples of the North should participate effectively in this "political evolution" and, at the same time, be assured that their rights and interests be protected (1978:4):

> This whole question of safeguarding the rights and interests of minorities...is not easy to answer but it is one that clearly needs to be given full weight in claims negotiations and in any political consultations about constitutional development. (1978:7).

While the federal government was aware that the positions put forward in the policy paper attached to Drury's mandate did not satisfy all the submissions and claims presented during 1977, it was a guide for a process that was expected to continue for a lengthy period of time, since the issues and attitudes involved were complex. Quick solutions would not be either possible or desireable (1977:18-19). Part of this solution was to lie in the 1978 federal publication "Native Claims: Policy, Processes and Perspectives", which was an update of the earlier statement put forward by Chretien.

In 1973, the Policy Statement on Native Claims reaffirmed "a long-standing Government policy that lawful obligations to Indian people must be met..." (DIAND 1978:3). The aboriginal people of the north had lost their way of life, according to the federal government, and the point of claims was to "help find a means to resolve the cultural, social and economic problems resulting from the loss" (Asch 1984:66). In 1978, however, the purpose of the new statement was to provide benefits to native northerners to maintain what the government perceived as an ongoing way of life. Aboriginal interest would be translated into certain benefits, resulting in the promotion of socio-economic continuity in aboriginal society. Benefits were to include items such as hunting and trapping

rights, monetary compensation, resource participation, native participation in government structure, and native implementation of the actual claims settlement (Asch 19846;DIAND 1978). The traditional territory of the native people, furthermore, was to be divided so that:

> ...the larger share would be "owned" by Canada, and a smaller portion, selected from land "currently used and occupied," would constitute "Native lands". Further, on sections of these native lands, the aboriginal peoples would own sub-surface rights"(Asch 67).

In the view of Asch, this acknowledgement regarding sub-surface rights was, of course, intended to protect certain wildlife areas and community tracts from harmful development. However, it was also to provide a structure which would be controlled by native people in the development of these lands and provide "the capital necessary to initiate the enterprise" (Asch 68).

Due to the implications of the appointment of Drury and the 1978 native claims statement, most members of the House of Commons appeared to have changed their views regarding the validity of the Berger Report, the existence and viability of the traditional sector of northern native life, and the support of acculturation by the latter part of 1978. The member from the Yukon (Eric Nielson), for example, chastized one House member for:

> ...his abysmal ignorance with regard to native people in the Yukon. He stood up and informed members of this House that native people in the Yukon do not live in the traditional fashion. I invite him to visit Old Crow where they do just that all year round. There is a whole village of people in that area in the Yukon who live in just that way, and a great many others as well. His speech was full of inaccurate statements and absolute rubbish (Hansard 1978:4051).

Faulkner emphasized the importance of hunting, fishing and trapping rights in the lives of most native northerners, and in their future identity as in Canadian society. The issue for the federal government had become not whether the traditional sector was a matter of lifestyle, subsistence or recreation, but that it was a key element in the continuing viability of northern native culture. No longer was the attitude one of "the traditional sector is dead" or that the native economy was "dying". The aim of the federal government had shifted to striving to obtain a balance between renewable and non-renewable resource development and between conventional wage employment and activities which supported the traditional native economy:

> There must be balance in meeting the need for native people to protect their future and their past... native people must be equipped to make a viable choice

> between following their traditional way of life, entering the mainstream of Canadian society, or a compromise involving the best features of both (Hansard 1978:1492).

Members appeared grateful to the Berger Commission and National Energy Board in that the repeated infringement of the individual freedom of northern natives had been avoided. Irreparable damage would have been caused if past exploitive actions had been repeated on the part of the federal government. On a more cynical note, one progressive conservative member pointed out that:

> The government should be eternally thankful that the National Energy Board did not make a recommendation contrary to the recommendation of Mr. Justice Berger because, if there had been two or more government commissions or boards making opposite decisions, the political chaos would have made life just a little uncomfortable (Hansard 1978:3021).

These developments brought an end to a decade that had seen considerable and far-reaching changes, resulting in perceived shifts in the attitude of the federal government to the viability of the traditional sector of the northern economy, and hence to the existence of the traditional northern native way of life. The groundwork had been laid, according to DIAND, for responding to the challenges of the 1980's (DIAND 1980:6).

In the latter part of 1978, most members of the House of Commons appeared to change their views regarding the Berger Report and the existence of the traditional sector of northern native life.

B. The Territorial Aftermath

In the early part of 1976, in an address to the Council on closing day, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honourable Judd Buchanan, called for more progress on land claims negotiations. The opening day of the new session saw a new minister - the Honourable Warren Allmand. In his opening address, Mr. Allmand stressed his belief in the efficacy of direct contact with northern people and situations, and was encouraged by what he perceived as the ever-increasing extent of native participation in all levels of government in the north (GNWT 1976:17,19).

The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) was preparing for the construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in 1976, and had developed a Regional Plan for the Mackenzie Delta. It was intended to influence the manner in which the development would take place, to maximize benefits accruing to the people of the Northwest

Territories, and to ensure the fewest possible negative effects (GNWT 1976: 60-61,93). The predominantly native settlements were reluctant to make local town planning and land matters a priority early in 1976, since the Berger hearings were continuing and settlements were concerned that any planning decisions made would adversely affect the outcome of their claims negotiations. When the hearings did conclude, the GNWT felt there was no doubt that important political, social and economic decisions would have to be made (GNWT 1976:3,67).

In his opening address to the Legislative Assembly in 1977, then Commissioner Hodgson referred to the major issues of resource development, native claims, and responsible government, all of which were critical to the North. Urgent decisions were required. In regard to the issue of land claims, keeping in mind the annual report theme of "Toward Decentralized Government", the Council firmly opposed the native state concept on the basis that it lacked the necessary element of universal participation in political institutions by any Canadian who chose to live in the North:

> ...an ever increasing number of Canadians are laying claim to special preference and special consideration because of some accident of their birth. Groups most often of some racial or cultural affiliation are proclaiming themselves citizens plus which naturally must make the rest of us citizens minus.
>
> The Trudeau government, in its acceptance of the nonsensical two-founding culture philosophy is undoubtedly responsible for the worsening of the problems as more and more people, often with government financing, proclaim their superiority over the rest of Canadians...(GNWT Hansard 1976:43).

Instead, the Council proposed the enshrining of native rights in the constitution of the Northwest Territories. In addition, Council claimed equal representation, together with the federal government and native groups on any land claims negotiating committee (GNWT 1977:18).

On the issue of resource development, the 1977 Council felt that since long-term economic development of the Territories would depend on the further exploration and utilization of its natural resources base, the power over surface and subsurface land resources should be transferred to the Territorial Government. However, the opening of the 62nd session coincided with the release of the first volume of the Berger Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. The general trend of deliberations regarding the recommendations of the Report was one of discontent about the entire process. Council considered itself to be:

> ...in an untenable position because of its lack of decision-making authority while important decisions affecting the north and its future are taken elsewhere (GNWT 1977:22).

Berger and the Territorial Government

Strong opinions were voiced in the Assembly regarding the recommendations of Judge Berger. Some members felt that Mr. Berger's report was a direct result of his perceived political leanings and what was termed his "socialist background". The report was also considered to be a mechanism, designed by Justice Berger, to embarrass the federal government. This action was deemed unfortunate because it appeared that Judge Berger was prepared to sacrifice a whole generation of youth in the Northwest Territories to attain this "ephemeral goal" (GNWT Hansard 1977:10,27). It was claimed by various members such as Butters, Nickerson and Stewart, that the entire process was orchestrated and the manipulation evident. The report was not to be believed and was of no value to the people of the Northwest Territories since Berger never discovered what people were really thinking (GNWT Hansard 1977:10-12):

> Because of the tense...racial situation in the Northwest Territories, the Berger Inquiry have little chance of getting at the roots of problems. On the native side no one could be expected to testify against his mother or take a line that would ostracize him from a small community. On the white side no one would dream of voicing criticism against anything going on that could have the smallest racial overtones as this would be pouring gasoline on a fire still under control (GNWT Hansard-Butters 1977: 265).

When addressing the relevancy of testimonies given during the community hearings, Nickerson and Butters stated repeatedly that the voices belonged to the native northerners testifying, but the ideologies and words did not:

> There was some really moving and beautiful prose that came out of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. One passage I liked...a beautiful piece of poetry was part of that provided to the hearing in Fort Good Hope by Chief T'Selie...
>
> Beautiful words. I wonder if they were written by native people (GNWT Hansard 1977:262).

Those who were accused of providing "scripts" to native northerners were viewed as an "unholy alliance of creeps, cranks, misguided churchmen, neophyte socialists and pseudo-ecologists" who thrived on their self-seeking motives or had been "completely duped by the mounds of propaganda emanating from those that do" (GNWT Hansard 1977:181,268). One example of a neophyte socialist, given by Butters, was in the form

of Mel Watkins who was, at that time, employed by the Dene Nation:

> Mr. Mel Watkins has some very decided views about multinationals, about control of energy resources, about control, about government control of this and that, about pipelines in the North and he had them before he came here.
> ..."Revolutionary demands cannot be dealt with from within a capitalist system. People who have these concerns have to be prepared to organize around anti-capitalist and anti-imperialistic banners". Can you imagine how native people, unsophisticated in the political ideologies and objectives of certain individuals and groups could be fed on that stuff? (GNWT Hansard 1977:267).

It was assumed by some members of the Assembly that the fast pace of development was too much for the native people of the north to handle. Consequently, native leaders were not organized, nor were they capable of speaking for their people. In this view, the existence of the traditional economy was negated through the total rejection of Berger's report. This notion was later expressed clearly by David Searle as the debate progressed:

> ...Indian people who desire economic reforms in the North because they know very well that the lifestyle of food-gathering society that had existed when I was a child is no longer a viable economic base on which to build a society.
> If it had not been for our welfare system, for our governmental policies, these people would be unable to go out hunting...(GNWT Hansard 1977:17).

Members Stewart and Whitford suggested that Berger did not have adequate knowledge of the study area when he suggested that modernization of the traditional way of life would do more for the north than building the pipeline. If people relied on the traditional pursuits they would, in the view of some members, either starve to death or annihilate the animal population. David Searle expressed the view, in light of this perception that Berger's report embarrassed native northerners and was a discredit to the majority of northern people. Regarding the recommendations for a settlement native claims prior to development, the Territorial Government was anxious to see claims acquitted in a judicious and honourable manner, and that people had every opportunity to live the lifestyle they chose, whether it be the traditional one or as part of industrial society. However:

> We do not support the proposition put forth by native groups that there should be no major development until land claims are settled (GNWT Hansard 1978:28).

The predominant sentiment expressed was that Assembly members were the best judges of what northerners wanted. Based on this assumption, Butters suggested to Justice Berger that he and and the Inquiry had become "wailing walls" for the North and

were scapegoats for the woes, troubles and sorrows faced by people of the Northwest Territories. He further suggested to Mr. Berger that he should consider the Northwest Territories Act in light of the ability of the Legislative Assembly to develop terms and conditions related to the pipeline development, and:

> ...possibly some of the responsibilities that had fallen on his shoulders or placed on his shoulders by the federal government could be rightly placed on ours (GNWT Hansard 1977:265).

Judge Berger did not take Mr. Butters up on his offer.

Not all views regarding the Berger Report were negative. Pearson felt that the crux of the problem was that members of the Legislative Assembly felt they had been pushed aside, which was not a critical issue (GNWT Hansard 1977:14). He further stated that the construction of a pipeline was not going to solve the problems of the Northwest Territories because the people of the north would not be the ones to own the resources or gain substantially financially. It was, in his view, the responsibility of the Government of the Northwest Territories to develop the economy through new directions:

> ...a pipeline is going to solve all our problems, is it? The pipeline will solve all our problems and be the answer to all our dreams. That is the kind of impression that one gets here. It will become a welfare state if there is no pipeline. What are we doing, this House, what are we doing about developing an economy? What are we doing about it, and where are we doing it? (GNWT Hansard 1977:227).

Pearson addressed the issue of the traditional economic sector of northern native society, taking issue with what was said in the Assembly earlier in the debate, and relating it to the development of the pipeline:

> ...there are people I represent, and there are people represented here today who have never left the land, they have never left it and made a good living from it and make a good living from it. It is their land. They have lived there for thousands of years and will continue to do so if they are given the opportunity.
>
> Land use is still very much a part of the lives of the people. There is no question about it, and I believe I have said so in this House that by using modern techniques and some of the modern approaches that we have that people could earn a good living from the land...What is the pipeline going to do for them? Where is that going to change things? (GNWT Hansard 1977:224).

Pearson expressed the hope that people in the North would gain benefits from the development of a pipeline. In order to benefit, however, he emphasized that it would have to be planned well ahead of time "instead of the country being run roughshod by large corporations in southern Canada exploiting us and our resources" (GNWT Hansard 1977:228). Pearson's plea had no impact in 1977, however, and Nickerson moved that the ten year moratorium on pipeline development, as recommended by Justice Berger, be

rejected and that the Assembly reaffirm its support of the pipeline subject to the imposition of terms and conditions satisfactory to the House. The motion was carried.

The territorial government had rejected Berger's recommendations, but the federal government did not. Consequently, in 1978 there was little debate in the Legislative Assembly regarding the pipeline, except for a frequent reference to the "death knell" which would now be heard throughout the Mackenzie Valley:

> Hon. Jean Chretien stood at that time ready to receive an application for the pipeline. Then came the little innocent sentence in that same speech which was to ring the death knell of those promises and blow the Mackenzie pipeline right out of existence. That statement was: "I am currently taking steps...to set up a formal commission of inquiry to examine the regional, social, and environmental aspects of such an application", and this became the Berger Inquiry.
>
> The Hon. Judd Buchanan presided while Judge Berger roamed the Mackenzie ripping up each mile of our proposed pipeline.
>
> ...gone was the pipeline, along came that promise and away went the minister who made it (GNWT Hansard 1978:30).

According to some members of the Assembly, the Indian Brotherhood could now have a 50 year moratorium because the Valley had died, and would stay dead until the Legislative Assembly had rid the region of dictators.

In 1978, the overall planning thrust changed from one of preparing for the construction of an energy corridor to the identification and assessment of the alternatives available to stimulate the territorial economy. With the clarity of hindsight, then Commissioner Hodgson stated that although the impact of the decision not to proceed with pipeline development at that time was spectacular, it was not the only issue facing the Legislative Assembly and the people of the north (GNWT 1978(b):19,44):

> ...while the matter of the proposal to build the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and the subsequent hearings may have dominated the landscape and preoccupied the media by grabbing most of the local headlines, in all honesty, I wonder if in fact we were not all hypnotized by the immensity of the project. There is no doubt that the proposal was sincere, the project exciting, and the benefits to these territories could have been immense, but now that it is all over we can look at ourselves and the North from a realistic point of view and see things in a much clearer perspective (GNWT Hansard 1978:2).

Contradiction

Part of this supposedly new perspective promoted by Hodgson appeared to be an open approach to the issue of native claims. Members of the Legislative Assembly stated that the desire of northerners to preserve their culture and traditional land-use lifestyle was reflected in the native land claim positions. Settlement of those concerns would lead

to excellent benefits to all northerners, since the resolution would be the result of full and effective participation of native people in future decisions. To facilitate the timely settlement of native claims, the Government of the Northwest Territories moved to create a land claims secretariat which would serve as the focal point for the coordination of the Assembly's participation in the land claims process (GNWT Hansard 1978: 16,99, 118). The traditional sector of the northern native economy was to be protected, leading to a more accommodating approach and increased benefits to all concerned:

> ...the existence of these two economies (traditional and industrial) does not mean that there are no linkages between them or that they are of necessity incompatible. An increasing number of native people are finding it possible to supplement their traditional pursuits by seasonal or rotational wage employment. By the same token, many northern businesses and industries are finding it possible to increase their productivity and reduce their costs through the greater use of local labour and by developing work schedules that are more in harmony with the traditional lifestyle and interests of northern people (GNWT Hansard 1978: 16).

To further entrench this policy, it was stated in the debates that the native northerners were to be encouraged to participate in the integral life of the territories, but not be assimilated. Participation would mean that native people could take advantage of development, while in no way destroying their cultural values or senses of identity.

Members of the Assembly appeared to have changed drastically their view of the viability of the traditional sector and acculturation in the aftermath of Berger. In reality, however, in view of opinions that had been expressed only a few months previous, it appeared that the land claims secretariat had been created only to avoid a re-occurence of problems the Assembly had encountered when members had refused to participate in the Berger Commission. It further appeared that the Assembly was initiating discussion on the land claims issue. However, more important than discussion, was the fact that a land claims secretariat would facilitate a better-informed Assembly when the time came for an actual confrontation with the Dene and Inuvialuit on this issue.

The 9th Assembly

A major factor influencing the view of the territorial government on acculturation was the election of the 9th Assembly , the first session of which commenced November 13, 1979. This was significant because the Assembly no longer was controlled by a non-native majority - it was truly on the way to becoming representative of Dene and

Inuvialuit interests in the North. A principle example of the force of the native component of the 9th Assembly is found in the events surrounding the motion of the 8th Assembly regarding land claims. On October 8, 1978 the Assembly stated it did not support, nor would it be bound by, principles related to the settlement of land claims. This motion was overruled with a motion adopted by the 9th Assembly stating the position that the Assembly must reestablish land claims negotiations with the federal government (GNWT 1979).

In 1980, the concentration of the Assembly focussed on:

> ...maximizing employment opportunities in both the non-renewable and renewable resource sectors; developing long-term economic development strategies to promote balanced growth of the traditional and industrial sectors (GNWT 1980:5).

A sessional paper on aboriginal rights and constitutional development in the Northwest Territories was extensively debated and accepted with some amendments.

Another concern expressed by the Assembly pertained to the Norman Wells Pipeline project. A motion was approved asking that the administration, in cooperation with the Dene Nation and Metis Association, explore with the federal government the possibility of deferring the Norman Wells project until certain conditions[20] had been met. As a result, close liaison and communication were fostered with the Dene Nation and other native groups, and mutual areas of concern were identified in regard to the proposed development.

The Special Committee on Unity was established early in the 9th Assembly to "determine the means by which political concensus would be generated amongst the people of the North" (GNWT 1980:58). Consideration of the Report occupied a major part of the session and recommendations were debated extensively. The Assembly gave commitment "in principle" to dividing the Northwest Territories into western and eastern territories, recommended a plebiscite be held regarding the division, and that a "constitutional development committee" be established to examine future political and consitutional development in the Northwest Territories (GNWT 1980).

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[20]Conditions concerned the negotiation of aboriginal rights with the federal government, the formulation of a long-term non-renewable resources development plan for the Northwest Territories, and other related factors (GNWT 1980).

A motion was made during the third session that instructed the Members Services Board to look into the means whereby the rules, dress, practises and decor of the Assembly could be made "more reflective of the land, customs and traditions of the people of the North" (1980:58). Another significant undertaking was that of making meetings of standing committees of the Assembly open to the public. These actions are important in understanding the state of transition of the Legislative Assembly in 1979-1980. In addition to becoming more responsive to the needs of the northern Dene and Inuvialuit in terms of political and economic development, the question of "identity" was actively considered.

C. The Industrial Aftermath

The Northern Development Conferences

At the Seventh National Northern Development Conference held in Edmonton, Alberta in 1976, Judge Berger (speaker at the luncheon address) delivered a stinging remark to industry delegates pertaining to the conventional wisdom that says a decision regarding industrial development could only be made by the people in industry and government, since they supposedly traditionally possessed the facts, experience and knowledge. To this, Berger simply stated "Well, the hearings we have held show the conventional wisdom is wrong" (Berger 1976:36).

> ...native claims cannot be understood unless we understand native goals, native preferences and native aspirations. In the North everybody has been willing to tell me what the native people want. White Northerners have told me. Social scientists have told me. But no one would suggest that I should go to the native people and ask them to tell me what the white people think. It is equally absurd to suggest that I should rely upon the white people to tell me what native people think (Berger 1976:36).

Ewan Cotterill, Assistant Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs relayed a message similar to that of Berger. The emphasis had shifted since the preceeding Conference, where the concern was totally with the benefits of industrial development to industry, to a perspective focusing upon native people:

> It is not often understood that the vast majority of northern native people still possess an economic and cultural dependence on the land that can only too easily be threatened by the activities of exploration and development taking place on that land. Unfortunately, Government and industry in the past have not been sufficiently sensitive to this relationship and concurrent concern (Cotterill 1976:135).

The Eighth Conference[21](1979) saw dramatic shifts in the perspective held by industry on the viability of the traditional economic sector, and also saw the participation of northern natives. Eric Tagooma, president of the Inuvialuit Tapirisat of Canada, expressed the view that economic policy must reconcile a proper balance between the renewable and non-renewable resource base. This reconciliation, however, would have to be viewed realistically (Tagooma 1979:112).

The president of Canmar Drilling welcomed the Conference to bring forward his company's work rotation program:

> Our program has had important beneficial effects on the social and cultural life of northern people. Increased income has enabled many native people to purchase the equipment required for modern hunting and trapping. For others, the income has improved their standard of living. We acknowledge the transition to a wage economy, the effect of increased earnings and the influx of southern workers and values can have undesireable effects on some people. These are difficult things to assess, not always immediate or easily measureable (Harrison 1979:59).

The negative effects may not have been immediate, but at least the company was acknowledging there were problems and that they were looking for solutions.

The first native woman to participate in the Northern Development Conferences was Bertha Allen, who spoke of the traditional way of making a living. She made the observation that a large number of native people are choosing to return to the traditional economy, while may participate in both the traditional and wage sectors. The point was made that development interests must be prepared to enter into partnerships with the communities in order for the native northerners to gain full advantage from industrial developments. This parnership was essential in Bertha Allen's mind, because:

> Once the native people have achieved some sort of social, political and economic independence, the rewards will spread. Until the native population can develop skills and earn their rightful place in society the bitterness and strife will simply continue or probably worsen... I have great hope for the people to pull themselves together again but that is going to take time. After all, it took 30 years to slowly go down to where they felt so degraded (Allen 1979:82).

According to Richard Salisbury, part of the solution lay in presentations such as the Berger Report:

> The Berger Report brought the... point home to all Canadians: the oil companies could have saved themselves millions if Arctic Gas had listened to local views earlier and not merely tried to change local views (Salisbury 1979:75).

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[21]The theme of this conference was, appropriately, "At the Turning Point".

Ewan Cotterill made the point that the question of whether the economy of the North should be based on renewable or non-renewable resources was one of the most earnestly argued issues within the North. Within this argument came the debate over land claims. According to Cotterill, the position of the federal government was that development in the north cannot be stopped pending the settlement of land claims, but the government did recognize that land claims could be one of the best instruments for ensuring the effective participation of native people in whatever economic development was to occur (Cotterill 1979:13-14,32).

Donald MacDonald felt there was a far greater recognition by Canadians generally of the distinctiveness and value of native cultures and a growing feeling of concern through their spokesmen. These people were putting forward clear statements of their aspirations to preserve their own languages, cultural identities and to continue to enjoy many aspects of their traditional lifestyle. MacDonald promoted native claims, because he felt native people were seeking the development of a process in which they would have an effective voice in decisions that would affect their part of the country. MacDonald also notes that the federal government is no longer approaching native claims from the standpoint of extinguishment of native rights but rather from the standpoint of entrenchment of native rights. This marks a significant departure from earlier positions taken by the federal government (MacDonald 1979). Jake Epp, then Minister of DIAND, agreed with MacDonald's perception and stated the federal government was encouraging new initiatives with native groups in an attempt to "break the log jam of recent years and more deliberately to achieve equitable land claims settlements" (Epp 1979:141).

The Conference concluded with a statement by Alex Gordon. There appeared to be a growing agreement between government, industry and the native people to proceed with a balanced development in the north:

> There is no doubt that we come away from this conference with a common will and with a renewed faith and vigour to develop and build a new north.
>
> There is no doubt that northerners want development, but they do not want development at the expense of northerner values, culture or way of life (Gordon 1979:149).

It was evident, however, that the active promotion of northern development was not to lie silently for long.

The Norman Wells Pipeline

With the rising price of oil continuing through the 1970's, Imperial Oil Limited decided to expand its oilfield operation at Norman Wells and, in 1979, initiated discussions with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. In early 1980, Esso Resources Limited submitted its Norman Wells Oilfield Expansion and Pipeline project to the federal government, and in February of 1981, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs referred the combined oilfield expansion and pipeline projects to the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review office to review and assess the environmental and socio-economic impacts of the projects. At the same time, Interprovincial Pipe Line (NW) Ltd. submitted application to the National Energy Board to construct and operate a small diameter pipeline to transport the increased crude oil production from Norman Wells to an existing pipeline system in northern Alberta. The pipeline was to be built on the west side of the Mackenzie River from Norman Wells to a point near Fort Simpson, proceed southeast to a point west of Bistcho Lake and southwest to the Zama terminal of the Rainbow Pipeline. Since Esso Resources Canada Limited proposed to use enhanced recovery methods to develop the remaining Norman Wells hydrocarbon reserves and Interprovincial Pipe Line Limited to transport the crude oil produced to southern Canadian refineries, the two projects were deemed to be mutually dependent (Esso / IPL 1980; Green and Bone 1982). According to Esso / IPL, the impact on wildlife would primarily be due to short term construction disturbance. Concerns relating to oil spills, particularly in productive wetland areas and the Mackenzie River during spring migration, were to be given priority consideration. Plans would be established to ensure that the danger was minimized, for example:

> Routing and design will be used to reduce the chance of oil entering any water course. Waste disposal will be handled as not to attract wildlife and all combustible materials will be incinerated (Esso / IPL 1980:introduction).

In the view of Resources Management Consultants (RMC)[22], the policy of the Applicants was to "endeavour to protect areas that are known to be important to northerners for cultural or resource harvesting reasons" (RMC 1980:272). Esso / IPL appeared willing and anxious to accommodate and work with local communities, native

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[22]Resources Management Consultants (Alberta) Limited was retained to provide a socio-economic impact assessment of the Project as well as provide recommendations for policy positions and action plans to enhance beneficial aspects and to mitigate disruptive impacts (RMC 1980).

groups and other "appropriate" interest groups for purposes of ensuring that wherever practical, the:

> ...pipeline and associated temporary and permanent facilities do not damage traditional hunting, fishing and trapping areas of areas of cultural significance... Include sufficient information in their employee orientation program to ensure that all employees are aware of the various resource harvesting areas and areas of cultural importance, as well as the Applicants' measure to avoid potential conflicts (RMC 1980:272-273).

Regarding the critical issue of land claims, RMC stated:

> The Applicants recognize the importance that Indian and Metis groups attach to the settlement of outstanding land claim matters and will cooperate fully with both the letter and the spirit of any land claim settlement (RMC 1980:280).

The federal government reviewed the proposals and, in 1981, approved the project:

> ...the Report of the Federal Environmental Assessment and Review Panel... felt that with the social pressure of the people of the Mackenzie Valley can be made "within acceptable limits" and the Panel recommendations are aimed at minimizing social disruptions... These recommendations included concern about...trappers opting for wage employment during the construction period and then having difficulties returning to the trapping economy (Green and Bone 1982:4).

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs commissioned a northern research team, from the University of Saskatchewan, to monitor the socio-economic impacts of the Norman Wells Project. The purpose was to prepare and design a database of the key socio-demographic elements which could be used to monitor key changes in the communities that would feel the greatest effects: Norman Wells, Fort Norman, Wrigley, and Fort Simpson. The project began in the spring of 1982, preparing a database at the household and business firm levels which would allow future changes in the communities to be measured, as well as conduct the first "monitoring" survey of businesses and public services in 1983 (Bone 1982; Mahnic 1983). Data were collected by means of two surveys. The first survey, of businesses and public services, recorded various economic activities of the firms, as well as employee registry information. The second survey of households had as its' focus employment, residency, and other "socio-economic indicators" important to the project impact assessment and monitoring (Green and Bone 1982).

Bone felt the Norman Wells project would draw northerners into the wage economy on a full-time basis - the issue of the existence, or viability, of the traditional sectors of the native economy was not addressed in the research conducted by Bone and

the research team in a major way, nor was the more general issue of the existence of the native way of life. The project raised certain concerns regarding the impact of the development on the four communities studied, such as concern over the risk of an economic boom and bust scenario which would be disastrous for the local people. Inflation was considered a major issue as well; however, concerns regarding those who shift from traditional activities to construction employment and the difficulties they could face in returning to their traditional pursuits, was not a major focus of the Project. In the conclusions of the report, issues pertaining to the traditional way of life appeared to be ignored. For example, major conclusions reported by the research team included: 1. Norman Wells has no senior citizens which suggests that when people reach retirement age they leave the community; 2. Fort Simpson has the largest percentage of young workers; 3. Norman Wells is mostly a white community; 4. Fort Simpson is a mixed community with the major ethnic group the Treaty Indians; 5. the native communities have the higher percentage of persons born in the Northwest Territories; 6. Wrigley has the highest percentage of persons born in the north; and 7. the proportion of the population not in the labour force is a measure of the type of economies in each settlement as well as the capacity of each economy to engage its potential labour force (Bone 1983). These are all very interesting statements regarding the settlements under examination. However, it appears that rather than risk potential public outcry by denigrating the traditional sectors of the northern economies, researchers who disagreed with the existence of the traditional way of life chose to ignore it.

A major departure from this type of research, and tacit acceptance of the acculturation hypothesis appeared in the form of the studies conducted on behalf of Esso / IPL. For example:

> The current land use in the corridor is comparatively low by southern standards, but nevertheless is important to the local people. Major forms of land use are transportation facilities, hunting, trapping and fishing (Esso / IPL 1980:Introduction).

Resources Management Consultants, retained by Esso / IPL, noted in their report that in addition to the recognition that activities were carried out in the traditional sector, these activities were time consuming and required significant physical and mental effort to conduct. Although it was difficult to estimate, these inputs "do have value and are a cost"

(RMC 1980:8):[23]

> People gather food, clothing materials, housing materials and perhaps other things from the land that may never pass through a cash transaction and thus are not available for statistical measurement although their value may be significant...they derive satisfaction of living their lives according to traditional patterns, and the value of that satisfaction defies measurement of any kind (RMC 1980:117).

RMC noted that in the rural native communities, there was a strong inducement for men to hunt, trap and fish. They did note, however, that it was expected that most people in the study area, but outside of Yellowknife and Hay River, Fort Simpson and Norman Wells would continue to depend for subsistence on a combination of trapping, fishing, hunting, available wage employment and social assistance payments (RMC 1980).

Although the land-use was not as significant in the larger communities of Yellowknife and Hay River, there was absolutely no question that traditional land-based activities were important to most residents of the study area (RMC 1980:64).

RMC took issue with those researchers who claimed (and continue to do so) that since food production has decreased, so too had the viability and existence of the traditional native economy:

> ...non-renewable resource development does not preclude traditional sector activity nor is it neutral. The answer lies somewhere between, and just where depends on the size and nature of the development and mitigating measures implemented by the proponents, governments and the communities involved...(RMC, 1980(b):6).

In response to concerns of this nature, and on the basis of known historical trends and after analyses of major current or planned developments, RMC felt confident in predicting that no substantial or sudden changes would occur in the pattern of life styles of study area residents, should the proposed development occur. Their data showed that the hunting and trapping industry was responsive to a large amount of fluctuation, depending upon the availability of species, prices on international fur markets, and alternate sources of income. In addition, the subsistence resource harvesting capabilities of the individual communities were not expected to be "over-taxed" by the project manpower needs. The same would be true of trapping, since many trappers shared their trap lines (RMC 1980).

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[23]It is noteworthy to mention here that the principle investigator of Resources Management Consultants (Alberta) Limited was Dr. Charles Hobart, who testified for Arctic Gas during the Berger Commission formal hearings, held in Yellowknife.

Work Rotation

To facilitate both economies, RMC outlined a number of solutions:

> In recent years, wage employment in development industries has become much more accessible to native people in the Canadian north. It has become available in three contrasting contexts, which typically have different consequences for native people and for industry as well. When the work site is easily accessible to the worker's home he may move daily between the two as do most workers in the south. If employment is not accessible the worker may relocate with his family to the distant work site. Finally the worker may rotate between his home and a distant work site, living for a time in each place (Hobart 1982:8).

Since most of the communities were not on the development corridor, the first option was not feasible. Moreover, employment experience at work sites to which employees relocated with their families was not very common among native workers since it resulted in a number of problems. Feelings of alienation among the relocated families were high, as were feelings of estrangement experienced when they moved from the native reserve or settlement to a white community:

> ...a very important element in the self concept of many native men, particularly those who have been raised in more traditional communities is his feeling of identity as a hunter, who keeps his family supplied with wild meat. This feeling of obligation is strengthened by the preference of family members for traditional foods. But it is usually very difficult, if not impossible for native men to combine successful worker and hunter performances in a relocation work setting (Hobart 1982:14).

The alternative favoured by Hobart, then, was that of rotation employment where the worker would alternate between home and work site, spending one or two or more weeks in each location. The duration of the work period would range from as little as four days, to as much as six weeks. Most of the industrial employment experience of northern native people in western Canada, according to Hobart, has involved this sort of work rotation, with favourable results:

> The major disadvantage of this type of work schedule...is the separation of the worker from his family and his community which it imposes...The shorter work schedules also require separation of the worker from his home for much of the year of the work season. However by now there is much experience with native employees working such schedules, with satisfactory results in every case (Hobart 1982:15).

In the Northwest Territories, the most common schedules involved two weeks at work and one week in the home community, or two weeks at work and two weeks at home (Hobart 1982).

In addition to the advantages of being in their communities instead of uprooting their families, Hobart noted that work rotation employees easily earn the money to keep

themselves supplied with new equipment, necessary for resource harvesting, and they have frequent blocks of time to hunt and trap as they will. This is crucial to the continued existence of the traditional sectors in winter months, thereby reducing the severity of possible impacts on traditional and subsistence activites. The most important of these activities takes place, according to Hobart, during the spring, summer and fall when employment opportunities are at a somewhat lower level (Hobart 1982:231). The recognition of the value of northern native culture is noted by Hobart in his views regarding the "cultural" benefits of work rotation:

> ...because natives typically experience living in the white work camp as stressful, they are only too glad to immerse themselves in the distinctively traditional aspects of their community life when their work rotation is over. Far from influencing them to overvalue a white life style, their experience at the work camp rather tends to enhance their appreciation of the traditional life they experience at home, and this tends to "innoculate" their children against any too-ready tendency to idealize the southern life style (Hobart 1982:24).

Another important point raised by Hobart was that the number of northern employees away from any one community at any one time would be very small. This was important because longer "away" periods caused problems for members of the employees family, such as running out of meat, shortages of money to replace the meat at the store, children undiciplined, and wives experiencing unwanted attention from other men in the community (Hobart 1982):

> Wage employment is not necessarily antithetical to the robust survival of traditional socio-cultural patterns in native communities. Indeed there is growing evidence that rotation employment tends to safeguard many such patterns (RMC 1980(b):13).

Men were to be allowed adequate time at home, in order to maintain traditional socio-cultural patterns, and would not jeopardize the adequacy of those who stayed home to maintain these patterns.

One viewpoint continuing to support the acculturation framework was presented by Stabler (1984), who maintained the idea that if the economic status of the northern native was to be improved, it was likely that most of them would require jobs in the north:

> Both territorial economies are what might be called undeveloped or immature where these terms are used as references relative to the economic structures of most provincial economies (1984:12).

Stabler's attitude toward native ways of life, as they pertain to the traditional economic sectors, appears to reflect the sentiments expressed by government and industry earlier in the 1970's. The mining industry is considered to be the dominant basic industry in the

private sector of both territorial economies, and tourism plays a major role. Activities in the traditional sector are relegated to minor roles in the territorial economies (Stabler 1984):

> The equity-oriented aspect of future development planning for the north will, therefore, obviously require a component which (continues to) explicitly address the inferior economic status of Natives (Stabler 1984:20).

The only hope for the north would be through non-renewable resource extraction of high-grade deposits and, possibly, first-stage processing. In reference to the products of the traditional sector, Stabler felt the potential for job creation was extremely limited:

> ...resource extraction likely could provide the stimulus to development to satisfy the employment requirements of the native people and create numerous additional jobs as well in both Yukon and Northwest Territories. Sufficient government spending could also accomplish the same objective. Aside from these two sources, however, both history and theory indicatee that the potential is extremely limited in the north (Stabler 1984:30).

D. The Denial of Acculturation

According to Judge Berger:

> The task of developing the renewable resource sector will not be easy, either for the native people or for governments...
>
> But the evidence before this inquiry leads me to the conclusion that, if native people are to be full citizens and participants in the North of tomorrow, it can and must be done (Berger 1977(b):43).

In line with this attitude Hobart, once a strong advocate of the acculturation model, chose not to continue to deny the existence of the traditional sectors of the of the northern economy, nor does his research "devalue" the northern native culture. He does not fully support the existence of the traditional sectors as outlined by the natives and witnesses who testified during the Berger Commission, but does exemplify the revision of industry views regarding the continuity of the traditional native way of life and the acceptability of the acculturation framework:

> Successful resource harvesting requires extensive equipment...much of which is costly to run and needs frequent replacement, a new skidoo every one or two years. Thus hunter-trappers must subsidize their preferred lifestyle with wage employment. But as noted earlier, this employment may leave little time for resource harvesting. Work rotation employees easily earn the money to keep themselves supplied with new equipment, and they have the necessary frequent blocks of leisure time to hunt and trap... Their success as hunters and as workers tends to assure them high status in their home communities, and their successful integration of modern and traditional forms of employment insures the continuing involvement in both. Continued commitment to a more traditional life style by those well respected in the community in turn is crucial to survival of the traditional culture, since the central values, the ethos of this culture, is familiarity with and living on the land, and having the lore and the

skills to harvest the resources which it has to offer (Hobart 1982:25).

Not only did industry radically change its view by the 1980's. The federal government had come full circle from the 1969 White Paper and denial of the recognition of special rights to the inclusion of existing aboriginal and treaty rights in the Constitution Act 1982. In this clause, the Canadian state acknowledged, for the first time, the existence of aboriginal rights. There is a major difficulty with this acknowledgement, however. As Asch states:

> The problem is simple: although all parties agreed to put "aboriginal rights" into the Act, there was no consensus regarding its meaning. Rather, as the Constitution explicitly states, this meaning is to emerge through further dialogue and discourse (1984:1).

It is clear that although the problems with defining terms applicable to the culture of a people, acculturation appears to be no longer actively pursued and promoted, or even tacitly supported, by the majority of officials of government and industry. The work "majority" is, however, not to be taken as a signal that the struggle is over for the natives of northern Canada. It is evident that the acculturation framework and accompanying hypotheses are still operative among some: the view expressed by Stabler exemplifies this attitude.

The question becomes, then, one of degree and how the few who still support acculturation effect decision-making as it pertains to the Canadian north. The solution may lie in an accommodation, such as that proposed by Hobart, of the Dene and Inuvialuit ways of life alongside northern development. This is, however, a matter for further study.

As the issue lies, there are many implications stemming from the rejection of the acculturation framework for anthropology as a science and for the actual process of science-building. Some of these implications are dealt with in the following chapter.

VII. When Worlds Collide

A. Anthropology and Acculturation

Introduction

According to Murphy, the acculturation framework involves:

> ...little more than an ethnography supplemented by documentary research and some knowledge of the culture of the society at the time of contact (1971:29).

This model presents a state of equilibrium that is disturbed by outside contact. The problem with this framework is that data may consist of slices of time which results in a picture of quantum leaps in cultural change without sufficient information. Murphy cites the case of North American Indian societies, which "had been in flux and turmoil long before our records began" (1971:31). It was only after anthropologists had begun the process of historical documentation did they come to the realization that the "steady state" of native societies was a "paucity of data and their own preconceptions about primitive life" (31).

It is clear from the evidence presented in the preceding chapters that the hypotheses supporting acculturation have been disconfirmed, in the case of the Canadian north, to the point where officials of government and industry acknowledge the shift. At the same time, a similar shift was occurring in anthropology.

The Paris Conference

The Conference on Hunters and Gatherers was held in Paris in 1978, initiated by Maurice Godelier of the Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes, and sponsored by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Topics covered the organization of local groups and relations to land, kinship and relations between the sexes, religion, values and symbols among hunter-gatherers, as well as their economic, political and cultural relations with dominant nation-states. The most important focus of the Paris conference, however, was on a set of issues that were barely discussed in the 1960's, but had been brought to the forefront by the struggles and demands of the hunter-gatherers themselves. Topics included the internal dynamics of social relations in foraging societies, the relationships of some

foraging peoples with neighbouring agricultural peoples, and the future survival of modern foragers concerning their political struggles against encompassing and encroaching state systems (Leacock and Lee 1982:3,4):

> ...contemporary or recent foragers are not living fossils, their history and their distance from humanity's ancestors are as long as those of all human groups. It is their economy and technology that make foragers so important...foraging people are not isolates, they are living in the twentieth century and are moulded in part by that context. For many years they have not been 'hunters living in a world of hunters' as Sahlins put it at the Chicago conference (Leacock and Lee 1982:5).

It was further emphasized that no anthropological account of hunter-gatherers existed which did not have to be qualified by the "contact factor" (Turner 1982:195).

Questions asked, therefore, were of a different nature than those that had been asked ten years earlier. Not only were groups of hunter-gatherers described, but questions were asked of a more theoretical nature: for example, what links together diverse peoples in Northern Canada, Australia, Africa and elsewhere under the heading of foragers, hunters and gatherers? In this conference, it was determined their connection was not merely their common subsistence means through hunting, gathering and fishing, but also included the means for making a living, and, just as importantly, the social relationships involved. Questions were asked regarding the ownership of the means of production, how the mode of production was organized, the control and distribution of the produce, and the consumption of that product.

Another major question asked during this conference was: why the shift in perception from the urgency to collect data before all remnants of hunting-gathering societies disappeared:

> Why have people like the Cree, the Dene... come to political prominence within their respective countries, when only a few years ago they were treated by the media as vanishing ethnographic curiosities? The answer is that foragers occupy one of the key battlegrounds of late capitalism: the last remaining resource frontiers in a world dominated by a profiteering system searching for energy and minerals (Leacock and Lee 1982:16).

Ten years previous the obituary on hunting and gathering economies was written at the "Man the Hunter" conference. In Paris, hunting was, once again, real - a "new fact in the modern world" (Asch 1982:347):

> It is clear...that as the world-wide existence of societies which use hunting-gathering attests, the Dene are not alone in concluding that this mode of subsistence remains viable even today...

However,

> ...there is little in (anthropological) literature which reflects this aspect of hunting / gathering. Rather, we tend to portray hunting-gathering as an entity which exists in, but is not part of, the modern world. It is...studied as a part of the ethnographic but not the historical present (Asch 1982:368).

Part of the problem lay in the tendency of the general population to view hunting and gathering as a mode of subsistence that is too punitive to be viable in contemporary society and would eventually disappear - a view shared by officials of industry and government. Recent hunting and gathering studies had, however, shown that this way of life had remained rational in contemporary society. Therefore, once people understood this premise, their preconceived notions about hunting and gathering would be quickly dispelled (Asch 1982:367).

During this conference, one of the main questions arising from the development of the Canadian north concerned the nature of the transformations that would take place when hunting and gathering societies became less isolated, resulting in increasing interaction with "nation-state political and bureaucratic structures, and to international economic structures" (Feit 1982:373). The first solid indication of a re-examination of hunting and gathering societies, within contemporary Canadian society, was presented by Feit[24](1982).

Cases of the Cree and Dene

In most contemporary societies hunting and gathering, or traditional subsistence activities, are no longer the sole productive activities. Hunting and gathering in these societies, however, is still significant economically and is often the key productive activity with network linkages to ecological cultural conditions (Feit 1982:373). The Cree of northern Quebec were maintaining a subsistence economy in the midst of an increasing exposure to, and dependence upon, the western trade goods sector and wage employment. The outcome was, of course, mixed, and a significant number of people were being driven out of intensive subsistence production in the process of this exposure.

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[24]Feit's reseach pertained specifically to the Cree Indians of Northern Quebec. The theoretical framework used, however, is applicable to all hunting and gathering societies existing within contemporary societies.

It was clear as the decade of the seventies passed that although some transformations had indeed occurred within the traditional sectors of the Northern Quebec Cree ways of life, the production and sharing of food and economic infrastructures remain (1978:384-385) central to Cree life. Hunting is an activity more highly valued than wage employment, although contributions made by each to the total economic outputs at a community level are approximately equal. There is no simple individual possession and ownership of land and resources, or breakdown of group cooperation which would be the case if the acculturation model was applicable. In addition, hunting activities remain closely linked to the local social and cultural structures central to Cree life. Most importantly, it is these linkages that the communities desire to maintain. In the past, according to Feit, acculturation theorists analysed this situation by viewing the hunting-gathering society as static. The revolution in anthropological thought over the past decade occurred, in Feit's view, because of the discovery that the productive activities of hunting and gathering people were efficient, abundant, and relatively reliable (1982:373,378), resulting in a stimulation of anthropological explanations. Feit found it was clear that hunting societies have not passively awaited the effects of external changes. Rather, societies such as the Cree have:

> ...sought to set and meet their own objectives. In the Canadian context it is clear that native groups in general have tried specifically to retain their ties to the natural environment, their subsistence production, their languages, and their belief systems, in the face of those changes whose origin lies totally, or in part, in the macroinstitutions (1968:403).

Asch (1982) in the same publication covering the Paris conference put forward views similar to Feit's. In contemporary Canadian society there had indeed occurred an erosion of Dene traditional institutions and values. The evidence presented in the mid-1970's through mechanisms such as the Berger Commission indicated, however, that this erosion had not progressed to the point where these institutions were no longer significant in contemporary Dene society (1982:359). The evidence had supported the contention that hunting and gathering remained vital to contemporary Dene society. Consequently, the Dene rely primarily on an economy based on the exploitation of bush resources. The land is capable of providing a renewable resource base of a size sufficient to support the present Dene population with virtually all of their subsistence needs, including food, clothing, shelter, and fuel. In addition, goods they cannot produce

themselves may be obtained through the sale or trade of bush products (Asch 1982:359).

The Dene are, in Asch's view, no longer willing to accept a continued erosion of their way of life:

> ...those people whose social organization 'disintegrated' two centuries ago (according to Elman Service in 1962) and who became refugees and debt-peons dependent on the fur-trade have not disappeared. No, they are still among us and are demanding for themselves the right to continue and develop their own way of life, their right to self-determination within Canada; their right, in short, to status as a nation (Asch 1982:348).

Moreover:

> ...their society still has the potential and the will to develop in a manner which strengthens rather than diminishes their traditional institutions and values. What they require to effect such an end is merely the power to control their own destiny (Asch 1982:354).

In support of Asch's framework, Dacks states:

> Opponents of natives' aspirations often condemn them as attempts to revert to a past that can never be revived. This interpretation takes as its starting point the natives emphases on the retention of traditional values. It then simply assumes that "traditional values" imply a static life and unchanging technology and argues the impossibility of such a life, if only because almost all native people have come to rely to some degree on white technology and cash income, and because the land simply cannot feed the present number of native people. While the facts their opponents use are correct, they do not lead to the suggested conclusion because the natives traditional values are no more static and unchanging than non-natives traditional values are: a culture applies its time-tested ideas and forms of social organization to new situations (1981:38).

Hunting and gathering peoples the world over were, at the time of the Paris conference, engaged in struggles for their lands and for the right to decide what happens on that land. In the past, these peoples were advised that they were fighting a losing battle and adaptation was inevitable, since they were on a "collision course" with history. Furthermore, until the latter part of the 1970's, assimilation appeared a justifiable position:

> (Indeed) anthropologists have often felt it their responsibility to provide information to gathering-hunting people that might help them to conform (Leacock and Lee 1982:18-19).

By 1978, however, this position was no longer tenable.

According to Feit, the role of the anthropologists in this process became essential. Social scientists in general, and anthropologists in particular, have made valuable contributions by providing key research to support native claims and contract negotiations, assisting in the development of political manifestos, and by educating the general public about native demands (Leacock and Lee 1982:18).

In addition to all of these variables is the fundamental need to understand the society under review, necessitating the development of an appropriate theoretical framework. A paradigm was required that provided a macro-view but also could account for, and contribute to, the process by which hunting and gathering societies determined their own futures within the constraints determined by interactions with nation-states and international economies. This sort of framework would be theoretically informed, in addition to contributing to efforts of hunting peoples (Feit 1982). One of the more adaptable paradigms useful in analyses of this nature is Asch's use of the concept of mode of production, outlined in 1979.

Asch's approach is based on an appreciation of the dynamics and complexity of a mode of production. He focuses on the social relations of production, and their dialectical relationship to technology and environmental factors (Turner and Smith 1979). In Asch's view, the concept of mode of production depends on the assumptions that humans possess the ability to think rationally and that alone, a person will never fulfill all his material needs throughout his lifetime. The process of analysing material reproduction in a society cannot, therefore, be understood only by analysing the technical aspects of production. The framework must include the physics of production, and the social relationships entered in order to motivate the technical dimension of production (Asch 1979(a):88-89).

"Mode of production" is defined as a structure which results from the simultaneous operation of two sets of components: the technical and the social. In this framework, the technical sphere is made up of the raw materials used in production, the element of technology and the element of labour power. The physical potential of a system to produce materials is determined by the interaction of these elements. The social sphere concerns the social relations of production, focusing on ownership and control over the means of production. The social relations of production are the determining factor in the amount of material production necessary to continue an economic system beyond the mere replacement of the means of production. The concept of mode of production implies (Asch 1979(a):89-90) that existing social relations of production will determine the quality and type of material goods that will be reproduced within the limitations of a system. This concept can be used, therefore, in analysing the process of change in general

and the process by which a transformation in the structure of a mode of production arises specifically.

Modes of production, within this framework, have flexible structures and are therefore able to accommodate many alterations without changing their fundamental form. They are not, however, infinitely malleable. Given this limitation, it is possible that situations could arise that would require changes beyond the logical structure of the system. This situation could arise directly out of the operation of a system of material reproduction itself, and would require the introduction of new factors in order to accommodate an alteration of the mode of production (Asch 1979(a):92-93). These factors include: 1. a conscious knowledge of an alternate method of material reproduction that includes at least a clear concept of alternate relations of production; 2. existing productive forces must be developed sufficiently to sustain the new relations of production; and, 3. the ability to motivate collective action to ensure the realization of a particular transformation (1979(a):93).

Internally generated transformation can take place in terms of the "mode of production" framework, according to Asch. The normal operation of a mode of production will present the context within which structural change occurs, through the intrinsic limitations to its flexibility. It will also, however, create the materials out of which people can construct new forms, from the existing social relations of production. This structural change is not automatic, however, and the potential for change cannot be realized until people transform it through collective action (Asch 1979(a):93).

The technical and social aspects of material reproduction are actually two dimensions of the same structure, exemplifying the process by which material reproduction both operates and creates conditions which require structural change. Because people think rationally and can understand the relationship between the two dimensions, a motivating force is added to both the process of material reproduction and its transformations. In Asch's view:

> For now I can merely underline my belief that it is human actions - and not matter itself - that in the end determine the direction of change... I would also hold that new directions can only be perceived through the immanent possibilities developed through the operation of the system itself (1979(a):96).

The economic rationale which arise from the Dene bush mode of production still remained dominant within Dene society. The other primary mode of production - wage labour- is,

however, effecting a degree of tension in Dene communities today. Culturally relevant employment has become necessary in order to provide an alternative to wage employment. The difficulty lies in relating traditional values to the context of contemporary economic activity (Dacks 1983).

Many problems have surfaced in contemporary Dene society in the social relations of production, as they pertain to the existence of the dual northern economy. For example, "inter-racial" difficulties that pattern behaviour (Dacks 1983) are found in non-native employers and supervisors versus native workers, which, in turn, may affect the relationships of the native northerner with the rest of the community. There may develop a desire to obtain more material goods at the expense of community needs in order to maintain the standard of needs set by non-native workers.

Labour activities associated with bush subsistence production are still undertaken collectively, for the most part, and surpluses are not hoarded but are distributed among members of the community. According to Dacks (1983), however, the concept of sharing and its strength varies and where traditional values are weakly held, there may not be much impetus to subordinate more current and tangible economic goals:

> Social values possess an enduring status, but the cogency of tradition becomes attenuated if it is not reinforced in daily life and adapted to changing technologies and social relations of the workplace (Dacks 292: 1983).

One solution to the problem of reconciling the social relations of production with traditional and wage modes of production, according to Dacks (1983) may lie in:

> ...the establishment of culturally relevant native enterprises to counter the cultural erosion of native life (308).

The Dene still hold that the land as a means of production is the mutual property of all and cannot be alienated by any individual or group (Asch 1979(b):346). The people, therefore, are in a position to decide themselves how their traditions will evolve under changed circumstances. This, according to Dacks, is the most important element in maintaining a culture (1981:38).

In 1983, the "Consciousness and Inquiry" conference was held in Ottawa, with the purpose and theme being the determination of how the ethnological enterprise is interwoven with the social, political, and intellectual structures of the larger society and culture from which it springs. The influence of the use of anthropology on the wider political and social stage, and how this influence affects the field, was also examined.

In his discussion of this point, Asch uses the proposals put forth by southern industry regarding northern development. These proposals have come into conflict with the aboriginal peoples who live in the north, because the projects required the radical transformation of northern economies and the traditional ways of life. Given the existing political climate at the time of the proposed Mackenzie Valley development, the conflict led to a public forum. At the Berger Commission Hearings, and indeed at other public forums of a similar nature, anthropologists were called upon to provide scientific evidence to "evaluate the standing of the veracity of assertions made by native spokespersons" (Asch 1983:202-203).

Expert witnesses who testified on behalf of Arctic Gas and Foothills Pipelines relied upon an acculturation model to provide a framework for their arguments that the pipeline would be of great value and benefit to the native people of the valley. The premise this model assumes was that when native people with the type of social organization of the Dene and Inuvialuit come into contact with industrial society they tend to evolve toward the more complex system. The indicators of this evolution include the degree of western education, the amount of western goods possessed, and the migration from the bush to the town. The process of acculturation is viewed as voluntary, as natives make "free choices" regarding the adoption of a "superior" western technology. The result is they relinguish their traditional way of life.

Expert witnesses for industry asserted that the people of the Mackenzie represented a "classic case" of acculturation, for the following reasons:

> As the result of the fur trade the Dene had been exposed to a western lifestyle. This had led, prior to the 1970's, to the Dene's adopting many goods of western manufacture including clothing, food and the very productive technology used to harvest bush resources. This process had culminated in the 1950's in a move from the bush into town. Once in town, acculturation continued as, for example, the bulk of the population became educated and hence inculcated with a western value orientation. Finally, the witnesses produced volumes of evidence to indicate that fewer people were hunting and that the country food produced was in fact a virtually insignificant sector of the economy (Asch 1983:204).

The Dene and Inuvialuit viewed the situation differently, and offered a direct challenge to the premises of the acculturation model - through the mechanism of the community testimonies. Industry reactions, in particular, ranged from acceptance of this new framework to the assertion that the Dene and did not realize the true nature of the situation and were being misled and deluded. The alternative to this latter viewpoint was

that a problem existed with the acculturation model.

Following the accumulation of evidence at the Berger Commission and careful examination, it was determined that since hunting continued to provide a major source of food in the contemporary lifestyle of the Dene and Inuvialuit, the acculturation model could not explain the current situation. The traditional economic sector indeed had not become moribund.

> This tells us it is improper to rely for our explanations on models which map the course of change primarily through visible and quantifiable elements and assume the existence of a direct correspondence between material adoptions and a value orientation (Asch 1983:206).

This framework lends credence to the assertion, both in theory and in fact, that for those societies such as the Dene and Inuvialuit, who practise a hunting-gathering adaptation and band level social organization, change must be framed within a context in which qualities such as motivations and values frame action and social relationships. These social relationships exist within native society, and between native society and the outside world and, according to Asch, all can be accommodated and incorporated:

> I have no doubt but that in the course of normal scholarly discourse we would have been pushed towards the adoption of such a paradigmatic framework. Indeed, many scholars had started to develop such a model prior to the Berger Inquiry and the forums. What the forums did, however, was clarify... the limitations of the acculturation model and hence collapse the period necessary to begin in earnest the work on alternatives (1983:206).

Hunting peoples are actively trying to play a determining role in the transformations they themselves are undergoing. Given that, according to Dacks, the assimilation of native people into northern non-native society is unlikely, as well as unattractive, to most native people. The only approach to establishing a relationship between non-native and native that meets native needs is a regaining of the values of native life. Within this solution lies the role of the anthropologists.

B. Why Science Changes

It is obvious that the role of science, and subsequent scientific procedures, play a major role in anthropology. "Science" must be verifiable. It must demonstrate truth by observation. What ever else it may be, according to a myriad of definitions, science is a means of generating and testing the truth of statements, about particular events within the world of human experience. This premise is predicated on the assumption that the

scientific community is aware of what the world is like (Kuhn 1970:7; Wallace 1977:11).

Science appears to be a concise system, with the aim of relating as many facts as possible to the fewest situations possible. According to Kaplan, however, too often the concept of science is conceived of as a self-contained entity, rather than as the outcome of the activities of individual scientists, working in a variety of constantly changing contexts. Science can, therefore, be termed a "puzzle-solver", due to the existence of a strong network of conceptual, instrumental, and methodological constructs (Kaplan 1962:311;Kuhn 1970:42).

Among the disciplines engaged in the study of mankind, anthropology is comparatively free from subjection to the "myth of methodology", that its scientific standing would be assured if only it applied the "right" method. What the "right" method is for anthropology is indeed controversial, but the controversy does not crowd out substantive research (Kaplan 1984:25).

There is currently no agreement regarding which scientific approach anthropologists should adopt. Jarvie (1975) views science as a mode of organizing intellectual activity, a "social model for open-mindedness" (261). Feyerabend sees science as dependent upon circumstances that are not described in the "usual accounts", do not occur in science textbooks, and have to be identified in an indirect fashion (1983:66). By definition, moreover, anthropology has difficulty in claiming a high degree of scientism.[25] Science is certainly not value-free, even though the general public supports the viewpoint that scientists are free of bias and hold entirely objective opinions in relation to research problems (Freeman 1977:9). In reality, however, all observation is participant - the observer (the anthropologist) always has an effect on what is seen, and data must be interpreted in order to function as usable data:

> Errors of observation plague the anthropologist because he himself is the instrument of observation; it is not easy for him to calibrate this instrument (Kaplan 1984:34).

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[25]The nature of the phenomenon under study is what determines classifications, such as "hard sciences" and "soft sciences". According to Freeman, when the discipline deals with assemblages of data that conform to "discoverable invariable norms", it is said to be in the realm of hard science. The extent to which data are increasingly unique and appear statistically scattered and random in behaviour reflects the "softness" of the science. A serious methodological problem arises when, because of the statistical nature of the research interpretation, the dubious claim to scientism is made - regardless of the lack of methodological rigour (Freeman 1977:22).

Moreover:

> The distinction between facts and values, and between theories and policies, is functional and intellectual, not substantive and absolute. Values enter into more than choice of subject matter (1984:28).

It is evident that total objectivity on the part of the anthropologist is beyond reasonable expectation. Although traditionally there was no allowance for ethnocentricity in anthropological research and method, currently the question is raised as to whether problems of ethnocentrism can be resolved by sheer desire. Myrdal in Kaplan (1984) states that the goal is to now recognize the value judgements on which the activity of the anthropologist rests:

> The only way in which we can strive for "objectivity" in theoretical analyses is the exposure of the valuations to full light, make them conscious, specific and explicit, and permit them to determine the theoretical research (1984:28).

The emphasis on the humanistic aspects of anthropology does not give carte blanche to lax methodological procedure, however:

> Acknowledging differences in style does not provide aesthetic failure with the excuse that it has succeeded in defining a new style...Marksmanship is not demonstrated by shooting at the side of a barn and then painting targets around the point of impact (Kaplan 1984:26).

In Freeman's view, objectivity does not refer to some psychological state of mind of the anthropologist, but to a critical approach to the evaluation of inferences and data that meet the usual restrictions of science. The so-called value-free position of the anthropologist is in respect to the position adopted in evaluating work in terms of whether it is "good science". Whether the conclusions reached accord with the scientists personal view of the world is not the crucial factor (Freeman 1977:8).

Frameworks and Change

In the field of anthropology, as in any other discipline, it is all well and good to take note of the changes in theoretical models, and the application of methods in science, over a period of time. In order to fully understand this process it is necessary, however, to possess a basic knowledge of what Kuhn has termed the "structure of scientific revolutions".

An effective means of accommodating concepts in anthropology such as "way of life" is that of the paradigm. A paradigm consists of the concepts with which people approach experience: it symbolises the world of values, beliefs and techniques shared by

a community, and conditions what is accepted as relevant to discuss. A paradigm "governs" a group of practitioners, including the training of their successors (Binford 1982;Kuhn 1970) and provides a model for what a given structure is given to be like. In addition, the nature of a paradigm is intrinsically circular:

> A paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share, and, conversly, a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm (Kuhn 1970:176).

Anthropologists, as social scientists, carry out their work within a conceptual frame of reference (for example: the mode of production or acculturation), and various theories that attempt explanations of the world, as understood through the use of the paradigm. For Kuhn, a paradigm is a tradition containing easily identifiable features side by side with tendencies and procedures that are not known, but nevertheless guide research. Different paradigms, such as mode of production, force researchers to see differently and also contain differing methods for instructing and evaluating research (Feyerabend 1983):

> One must understand the manner in which a particular set of shared values interacts with the particular experiences shared by a community of specialists, to ensure that most group members will ultimately find one set of arguments, rather than another, decisive (Kuhn 1970:200).

In Kuhn's framework, a state of normal science is considered to exist when a paradigm is accepted in terms of its general approach and methods, usually occurring as a result of puzzle-solving. This developmental process is commonly marked by advocational disagreements to which fundamental philosophical arguments are applied. A problem of uncommensurable world views develops, and the arguments become pointless. Paradigms gain their status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving problems. This success is, at the outset, largely a promise of success discoverable in selected instances. By increasing the extent of the match between facts and predictions offered by the paradigm, and by further articulation of the paradigm itself, acceptance is achieved (Kuhn 1970). It is necessary to recognize the state of the anthropological art and address the growth of new paradigms, such as mode of production, as basic and fundamental:

> A scientific theory is usually felt to be better than its predecessors not only in the sense that it is a better instrument for discovering and solving problems but also because it is somehow a better representation of what nature is really like (1970:206).

Science, Paradigms and Anthropology

Without an empirical component, no discipline can call itself a science. In anthropology, Kaplan recognizes the common problem that anthropologists are not indifferent to empirical data, such as that pertaining to behaviour in industry and government, but that they are denied the data. Data, consequently, are not given but are taken:

> Effective observation of human affairs is virtually impossible without some degree of participation in what is being observed: there are not many one-way mirrors, and what can be learned by stooping to keyholes is of dubious scientific worth (1984:33).

The role of the anthropologist is, as in the case of this research, to critically re-evaluate the available evidence. There is more involved in this process than simply proving "one side wrong" because the exercise of accountability, according to Freemen, necessarily involves performing an educative role (1977). Moreover, Freeman feels that it is not the nature of the research that is important in applied anthropology, and the establishment of public credibility. What is the more important factor is how anthropologists utilize their research findings, raising a number of questions regarding the role of the scientist as advocate (1977):

> ...public involvement -- at that dangerous intersection of science with society -- requires meeting the requirements for full public accountability...some of the safeguards appear to be less in evidence or even removed when scientists enter the public arena (1977:13).

Berger was successful in part, within Freeman's framework, due to the nature of public behaviour and the idea that value-free questions of fact "cannot be separated from political questions of policy" (Freeman 1977:14). In the view of the public, termed the "ultimate arbiter on public policy" (15) technically correct decisions and documents would have little effect unless presented in a manner acceptable to the people - hence, the successful impact of the community and some expert witness testimonies. The political compromise is often between a decision that is technically more"correct" and less accepted by the public and one that is less "correct" but is more accepted . This is, of course, dependent on a full presentation of facts relevant to the issue. Anthropologists, as evidenced in the Inquiry, provide information of a critical relevance in the "grey area" of public decision-making, and its clarification often is:

> ...able to stand opposed to the urban middle-class set of the senior corporate or public servant (and) may bring a perspective to the debate clearly needed and

enriching by means of its diversifying influence (1977:16).

The successful role of the anthropologists dealing with contemporary hunters and gatherers, such as the northern Canadian Dene and Inuvialuit, requires effective communication outside of academic or professional circles utilizing mass media and the publication of "less esoteric" writings (1977:15). This approach not only informs the public but also provides a clear base from which government and industry may draw when formulating northern development policy. The response on the parts of these two bodies to the Berger Commission - the accommodation of the northern native way of life alongside industrial development - exemplifies the processes involved in paradigm shifts, but also provides a valuable indication of the role anthropology plays in the building of science.

In the mid-1970's it was claimed (Jarvie 1975) that the lack of theoretical progress in anthropology indicated a genuine intellectual crisis. The solution was to be found in:

> ...critical reflection on the history of anthropology, and especially in coming to terms with the continuities (or lack of them) between its present concerns and those of the tradition of inquiry to which it belongs (253).

As applied to the shift from acculturation to a more flexible framework, the current crisis of intellectual stagnation - at least in the area of research pertaining to contemporary hunters and gatherers - has passed. Indeed, not only has the "mode of production" framework taken hold: it complements another model - metropolis-hinterland, supported by Usher. Within this model, if the metropolis has nothing to offer, the hinterland, it can impose its will only by force. If the material conditions of the two cultures (i.e. the hinterland of northern Canada and the metropolis of southern Canada) are vastly different, the alternate strategy is to degrade the traditional economy, perhaps by creating new wants, and then offering to fill these wants. The autonomous life of the hinterland is thereby destroyed, and it then becomes dependent on the metropolis (Usher 1976, vol.167). The basic objective and purpose of the dominant group does not, in Usher's view, change even though, as in the case of the Northwest Territories, economic and political dominance passed from the "triumvirate of the fur traders, missionaries, and police, to the new administrative elite" (1976,vol.140:25909). Based on his interpretation of the acculturation framework and subsequent criticism, Usher felt that his purpose was not so much as to examine the motivations and behaviour of the native people who would

be affected by development , as to:

> ...examine the dynamics of the society which proposes these developments on the frontier, and which by and large must be relied on to heed the consequences of its actions, adopt corrective measures accordingly, and implement them (1976,vol.167: 25856).

It is clear that anthropology is not wallowing in a theoretical morass. In addition, and crucial to the question of science-building, it appears that these frameworks of mode of production and metropolis-hinterland are not viewed as a "stock of true knowledge" (Jarvie 1975) but are seen as methods of organizing scientific and intellectual explanation.

The basic theoretical and paradigmatic shifts in the study of hunter-gatherers, arising from processes such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, is evidenced in the following quote by Leacock and Lee in the 1978 revisitation of "Man the Hunter" (1982:2):

> What is the future of people who have maintained a direct and intimate contact with the earth in the period when industrial capitalism has become the dominant world system? Their future is part of an issue basic to modern times: how to achieve a peaceful world society designed for people, rather than for profits. It may well be the ultimate question for human survival, for if there is no place left in the world for foraging peoples, is there to be a future for humanity as a whole?

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